















*Eliza W. W. Allen*  
1832  
12  
LETTERS

ON

FRENCH HISTORY,

*Eliza* FOR

The use of Schools.

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BY J. BIGLAND,

AUTHOR OF "LETTERS ON ANCIENT HISTORY," "LETTERS ON ENGLISH HISTORY," &c.

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## PREFACE.

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THE importance of history in a liberal education, is so universally known and acknowledged, as to render its recommendation to parents and instructors of youth wholly superfluous. But of all its departments, the history of France, after that of his own country, is the most interesting to an Englishman. Ever since the time of William the Conqueror, the epoch in which the two kingdoms first came into political contact, France has been intimately connected with England, sometimes by friendly, but oftener by hostile relations; and the experience of ages has shown, that no important alteration can take place in the state of the former, without affecting the interests of the latter kingdom.

The universal prevalence of the French language, is also a strong and natural inducement to the study of the national history. That language is now the general vehicle of communication throughout Europe; and a competent knowledge of it is considered as an indispensable requisite in a British education. It is, therefore, incongruous, that Englishmen should not have some acquaintance with the history of a people whose language constitutes so essential a part of the juvenile studies of both sexes throughout the British dominions. Every reason that can induce us to the perusal of the history of Greece or Rome, calls our at-

tention to that of France, in the events of which we and our children are far more deeply concerned.

But independently of these considerations, to which every enlightened parent and instructor will allow their full weight, the history of France is intrinsically interesting. It brings to our view transactions and events not less important than those which decorate the annals of Greece and Rome. There is no Roman emperor, except Cæsar and Trajan, whose name stands higher in the records of fame than that of Charlemagne, or whose reign, except that of Constantine, occasioned greater alterations in Europe. No transaction in Greek or Roman history is more extraordinary or striking than the croisades, and the story of the Maid of Orleans. The annals of no other country exhibit such remarkable revolutions of power. In the early history of the French nation, more distinctly than in that of any other, we see the complete degradation of the royal authority, and the rise of an aristocratical system, which reduced the king to a pageant, and the people to a state of slavery. In proceeding, we perceive the sovereigns gradually resuming their power, the monarchy acquiring a stable foundation on the ruins of the aristocracy, and the once powerful and turbulent nobles sinking into obsequious servants of the court. Here we view the establishment of despotism: the king become every thing, and all classes of subjects nothing in the state. But at the same time we have the pleasure of contemplating a scientific and literary, as well as a political picture displaying the rapid progress of letters, of science, and arts, exciting the emulation of other countries, and particularly of England. At length the French history exhibits a tremendous revolution which overturned the throne and the altar; and after



producing events of unparalleled magnitude, terminated in the restoration of the monarchy and the ancient dynasty, together with the establishment of a new political constitution. During these tremendous convulsions we see France exhibiting herself in a military attitude, such as all conquering Rome never assumed, raising and maintaining an armed force, double to that which the Roman empire ever displayed. Such are the outlines of a picture which the reader is invited to contemplate,

The plan here adopted for the instruction and amusement of the historical student is that of an epistolary correspondence, which, by assuming the form of a personal address, seems the best calculated for exciting attention; and the letters which divide the subject into distinct and specified periods, are begun and ended with appropriate reflections, in order to render the narrative more impressive, as well as to exercise, the too much neglected faculty of thinking. The reigns of the French monarchs are marked at the head of each letter, with the names of the cotemporary kings of England; an arrangement which renders the whole more interesting and luminous to those who are versed in English history.

It is necessary here to observe, that history as well as every other science ought to be studied methodically, in order to arrange it in the mind, and fix it in the memory, purposes which cannot be attained by careless and desultory reading. Without method, the ideas instead of being ranged in regular order, are left vague and dispersed. In consequence of this important consideration, questions for the examination of the pupil are annexed to the end of each letter, in order to ascertain the degree of attention with which he has perused his lesson, and the impression that it

has left on his mind. These questions corresponding with the articles of the narrative, numerically distinguished, the references will be made with the least possible trouble either to the teacher or the pupil. This method I have, from the experience of thirty years employment in the education of youth, invariably found to be peculiarly efficacious in exciting attention and arranging the ideas. The very act of recurrence to what has already been read, greatly contributes to strengthen the memory. It is scarcely necessary to add that the lessons may be made longer or shorter, and the questions either increased or diminished in number, according to the discretion of the teacher and the capacity of the pupil.

This historical compendium is carefully compiled from the most accredited French authors and others who have treated the subject. Not only Father Daniel and Mezerai, but Gregory of Tours, Boulainvilliers, Joinville, Loisel, Philip de Comines, Pasquier, Brantome, Froissart, De Thou, Montluc, Le Laboureur, L'Abbe Mabli, L'Abbe Du Bos Montagne, L'Abbe Langlet, *Hist. de la Pucelle d'Orleans*, *Hist. literaire de France*, *Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres*, *Memoires du Duc de Berwick*, *Memoires du Duc de Noailles*, *Voltaire*, *Siecle de Louis XIV.* and *Siecle de Louis XV.* and *Henault's Abrege Chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, have been consulted. The strictest attention is paid to chronology; and although this epitome is chiefly designed for the instruction of youth, it will exhibit to those of mature age, a view of French history sufficiently luminous to enable them to converse with propriety on the subject.



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# LETTERS

ON

## FRENCH HISTORY.

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### LETTER I.

DEAR SIR,

OF all the countries of Europe, France next to our own, is that which chiefly merits our attention. From a period of very remote antiquity, it was noted for its abundant fertility, and its numerous and warlike population. In after times it has not been less distinguished by its early civilization and the events of its history. It has generally held an important rank, and often had a preponderating influence in the scale of European nations; and its political and military concerns have, during the space of seven hundred and fifty years, been intimately blended with those of England. Without some knowledge of the history of France, that of Great Britain leaves only an incomplete idea.

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1. During the times of the Roman republic and empire, France was known by the name of Gallia or Gaul, and its inhabitants, called Galli or Gauls, were of Celtic origin. At what period the Celts migrated from the central parts of Asia, which may be considered as the cradle of the human race, and formed settlements in Gaul is unknown, being probably anterior to any records of history or tradition. But it is certain that from Gaul they soon spread into Britain, and in all probability were its first inhabitants. The religion, the form of government, the manners and customs of the Gauls and the Britons were, according to Cæsar's description, so similar, that no doubt can be entertained of their being originally sprung from the same common stock.

2. Gaul, like most other countries in those early times, was divided into a number of independent and often hostile states; and although history throws only a glimmering of light on the subject, it is easy to conceive the state of the country under such a political system, constantly a theatre of intestine wars, and presenting various scenes of devastation.

3. Some of the Gallic tribes, actuated by a desire of plunder or the love of romantic adventure, made formidable inroads into neighbouring and even very distant countries. About four centuries before the Christian era, the Tectosagæ, a Gallic tribe inhabiting the country around Toulouse, being led by Brennus their chief, penetrated into Italy and destroyed the city of Rome, the capitol alone resisting the assaults of those barbarian conquerors.



4. From this memorable epoch, the Romans regarded the Gauls as their most formidable enemies; and in their wars with that people, considered themselves as fighting, not for conquest and glory, but for independence and national existence. At length, the valor and discipline of the Roman legions, directed by the military skill and experience of Julius Cæsar, triumphed over those enemies who had so long been the terror of the republic. After a vigorous and successful war of ten years' duration, that celebrated general reduced the whole of Gaul under the Roman domination.

5. During the space of nearly five centuries, Gaul remained under the dominion of Rome, and constituted one of the most valuable and flourishing provinces of her extensive empire. In the fifth century, the Romans being attacked on every part of their extensive frontier by the nations to the north of the Danube and the Rhine, that vast empire, which had conquered and civilized all the southern countries of Europe, was at length overturned, and its provinces were divided amongst the barbarian tribes of Germany, Hungary, Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia.

6. Amidst these tremendous commotions, three different nations formed settlements in Gaul. The Goths having ravaged Italy, their king, Adolphus, brother of the famous Alaric, concluded a peace with the emperor Honorius, espoused the sister of that monarch, and in consequence of that arrangement, established a Gothic kingdom in the southern part of Gaul, called Gallia Narbonensis, and made Toulouse its capitol. The Burgundians, a

people of German origin, seized on the eastern part; and the Franks, another German nation inhabiting a district situated between the Rhine and the Weser, established themselves in the northern provinces. The Franks afterwards made themselves masters of the whole country of Gaul, which from its new possessors derived the modern name of France.

7. The first king of the Franks whose name history records, is Pharamond. The commencement of his reign is placed by the French historians about A. D. 424<sup>7</sup>; but it does not appear that this prince ever passed the Rhine to make any conquests in Gaul. His son and successor, Clodion, is said to have conquered that part of the country which is now called Belgium, but was then included in Gaul; and it is added, that about A. D. 436, he obtained possession of Cambray and its adjacent territory.

8. Clodion was, according to the French historians, succeeded by Merovæus, who is said to have been an ally of the Romans in the celebrated battle fought against Attila, king of the Huns, in the plains of Chalons in Champagne, where that barbarian conqueror received the memorable defeat which effected his expulsion from Gaul. The appellation of Merovingian, which is given to the first dynasty of French monarchs, is generally supposed to be derived from Merovæus; but the truth of this opinion is questioned by the president Henault, and is a matter of dispute amongst the learned. The death of that prince is placed about A. D. 468; and the sceptre of the Franks devolved



on his son, Childeric, who died A. D. 481, and whose actions, like those of his predecessors, are involved in obscurity. Some historians say; that Childeric made himself master of the northern parts of France, and added Paris to his dominions; but it does not appear certain whether that city was his acquisition, or that of Clovis, his son and successor.

I have thus, my dear sir, endeavoured to exhibit a sketch of the ancient state of Gaul, and of what may be called the fabulous, or at least the obscure age of the French monarchy. It is only the uncertain outline of an almost obliterated picture; and history affords few authentic documents to illumine its faded colouring. The first kings of the Franks, illiterate themselves, reigned over an illiterate people. Like the early heroes of Greece before the Trojan war, they had no historian to commemorate their exploits, no poet to sing their praise. Letters alone can transmit the remembrance of actions and events to posterity; for, as an elegant writer observes, "When the hillock which covered his remains is removed, or his funeral stones are thrown down, the memory of the savage perishes for ever." But when we reflect on the multitude of kings and chiefs of whom fame has preserved no memorial, and whose names time has swept away from the earth, it is some consolation to consider, that the history of barbarian princes, and illiterate nations, scarcely merits the attention of enlightened ages.

With every sentiment of respect and esteem, I have the honour to be, dear sir, your's, &c.

## QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

- 1.—What was the ancient name of France?  
Who were its first inhabitants?
- 2.—What was its early political state?
- 3.—What were the early exploits of the Gauls?
- 4.—Who was the Roman general that conquered Gaul?
- 5.—How long was Gaul subject to the Romans?  
What was the state of Gaul while under the Roman dominion?
- 6.—What nations settled in Gaul on the subversion of the Roman empire?
- 7.—Who was the first king of the Franks mentioned in history?
- 8.—What is the appellation usually given to the first dynasty, or race of French kings?

## LETTER II.

*Comprising a period of two hundred and seventy years, from A. D. 481, to A. D. 751, filled by the reigns of Clovis and his descendants, and corresponding with the establishment of the Saxons, and the existence of the Heptarchy in England.*

DEAR SIR,

CURIOSITY strongly impels us to investigate the origin of celebrated nations, empires, and states; and that of the French monarchy, particularly claims our notice, on account of its early and continued importance. But the history of its commencement, and the actions of its primitive monarchs are so involved in obscurity, that the president Henault begins his Chronological History with Clovis, the first Christian king of France, whom he considers as the real founder of the monarchy.

1. Clovis succeeded his father, Childeric, A. D. 481, but it is uncertain how far the Franks had extended their conquests in Gaul, and what was the state of their kingdom at his accession. The battle of Soissons, in which he gained a signal victory over the Roman general Siagrius, is recorded as the first memorable transaction of his reign. This event took place A. D. 486, and from that time all his enterprises were successful. In the next ten years of his reign, he made himself master of the provinces situated between the Somme,

the Seine, and the Aisne; and the city of Rheims, with several others, submitted voluntarily to his authority.

2. A variety of circumstances favoured the designs of Clovis, and contributed to his success. Salvianus, a writer of that age, informs us, that the Gauls, harrassed and oppressed by tyrannical governors, were weary of the Roman domination, and regarded the Franks as deliverers rather than conquerors; and had they even had fewer causes of complaint, the decline of the Roman empire rendered the nations hitherto subject to that government sensible of the necessity of looking out for a new master. The people of Gaul were strongly attached to their clergy, and Clovis gained their affections by the favour which he shewed to their bishops. Arianism prevailed at that time in the Christian world. The Gauls were the only people untainted with its doctrines; and, surrounded by Arian princes, they had reason to be alarmed both for their religion and liberty. Such was the state of things in Gaul, when Clovis began to sway the sceptre of the Franks. The clergy, as the Abbe du Bos judiciously observes, if they found that they must have a barbarian for their master, would give the preference to a Pagan, rather than to a heretic, as the Pagan religion was visibly on the decline; and the conversion of an idolatrous prince appeared much more probable than that of one who adhered to Arianism. The marriage of Clovis with Clotilda, a princess of Burgundy; and a Christian, also afforded them hopes of his conversion; and the pious endeavours



of his consort contributed to realise their expectations.

3. But it was requisite to overcome the prejudices of the Franks before Clovis could make a public profession of Christianity. Policy suggested an expedient well calculated for this purpose. Having defeated the Alemanni, a German nation, at Tolbiac, near Cologne, A. D. 496, he piously, or politically, ascribed his victory to the God of the Christians, whom he declared that he had invoked when the issue of the battle was doubtful, binding himself by a vow to embrace Christianity, if his arms should prove successful. This declaration of their king produced such an effect on the minds of the Franks, that when Clovis was baptized in the same year at Rheims, the whole nation followed his example. At this period, Arianism was so predominant in the Christian church, that Clovis was the only monarch who professed the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity.

4. The conversion of this prince does not appear to have extinguished his ambition: he continued to aggrandise his power, and extend his dominions. He made himself master of Gaul, as far as the Pyrenees. The inhabitants of Bretagne having cast off the Roman yoke, submitted voluntarily to his authority, and owned him for their sovereign; and although the history of his reign is far from being luminous, it appears on the whole that, in consequence of the co-operation of the prelates and most of the clergy, he found the whole country of Gaul an easy conquest.

5. The seat of government was at first fixed at



Soissons; but about A. D. 508, Clovis made Paris the capital of his dominions. The origin of large and celebrated cities, like that of great empires, is often involved in obscurity; but here, in viewing the magnificence of the oak, we see distinctly the acorn from which it has sprung. This metropolis of France is first mentioned by Cæsar, in the 54th chapter of the 7th book of his Commentaries. In his time, it was known by the name of Lutetia, and the whole of it was comprised within the narrow limits of that island in the Seine, which is now called L'Isle Notre Dame, or La Cite, and does not compose one-twentieth of the area of the present city of Paris. Being completely surrounded by the Seine, it was considered as a place of great strength; and the adjacent marshes, which human industry has since converted into firm ground, and covered with magnificent edifices, rendered it of still more difficult access to an enemy. But the buildings were only an assemblage of small huts, like those of the other towns in Gaul and Britain. Such was the state of the present metropolis of France, about fifty-seven years before the Christian era. About the middle of the fourth century, the emperor Julian, then governor of Gaul, made Lutetia his favourite residence, and adorned it with commodious and elegant buildings, but apparently without extending its limits; and it was probably confined to the island in the Seine, until after Clovis had made it the capital of the French monarchy. Its present name of Paris is derived from the circumstance of its having been the principal seat of the Parisii, a

Gallic tribe, who, in the time of Cæsar, occupied the town and its adjacent territory.

6. Clovis having established the monarchy of the Franks in Gaul, and promulgated many useful laws, died A. D. 511, at the age of 45, after a reign of thirty years, and was interred in the old church of St. Genevieve, at Paris. The character of this first Christian king of the French appears to have been a mixture of valour and policy. In war and in peace he was equally prosperous, and was perfectly skilled in the art of deriving advantage from favorable circumstances.

7. Clovis was succeeded by his four sons, who divided amongst themselves his extensive dominions. Thierry reigned at Metz, Childebert at Paris, Clotaire at Soissons, and Clodomir at Orleans. Whether this succession and division was regulated by the sole will of the deceased monarch, or by some law or custom of the Franks, is not known; but it is certain, that the consequences were hostile to the prosperity and happiness of the nation. France being thus divided into four independent kingdoms, after a few years of tranquillity, began to exhibit a scene of barbarian wars and murderous contention, until at length the whole was, by various turns of fortune, united under the sceptre of Clotaire. After that union, the most prominent event of his reign was of a most melancholy and horrible nature. Cramne, one of his sons, having rebelled, and levied an army, was defeated in battle by his father, and perished with his whole family in the flames of a cottage in which he had taken shelter.

8. Clotaire died, A. D. 562, in the fifty-first year of his reign as king of Soissons, but only in the second of his sovereignty over all France. A few years before the union of the monarchy under his sceptre, the heptarchy was completely formed in England.

9. On the demise of Clotaire a second partition of the French monarchy took place; and the experience of the evils which had resulted from the former division did not prevent its repetition. The sons of Clotaire, like those of Clovis, were four in number, and the former kingdoms were divided amongst them by lot. Charibert obtained the kingdom of Paris; Gontran was king of Orleans and Burgundy; Sigebert reigned over Austrasia; and Chilperic at Soissons. But the precise boundaries of those divisions are unknown to the French historians and antiquaries; and the actions of their monarchs are now uninteresting. It suffices to say, that all the evils of disunion were reiterated with the most horrible aggravation, and France again became a disgusting theatre of contention and crimes. After a long series of wars carried on with the most vindictive spirit, the destruction of a multitude of princes of the blood-royal, many of whom fell by assassination, left Clotaire II. the son of Chilperic, king of Soissons, sole sovereign of France.

10. This third union of the monarchy took place A. D. 613. Clotaire was a lover of justice and peace: he promoted the prosperity and happiness of France, and died A. D. 628, in the forty-sixth year of his age, greatly regretted by his subjects.



11. Clotaire II. left two sons, Dagobert and Charibert, who, following the former precedents, divided the kingdom. But the death of Charibert, about three years after, left his brother in possession of the whole monarchy.

12. The state of nations, in the different periods of their history, is more worthy of notice than the succession of princes whose bones are long since crumbled to dust; for a barren list of royal names is but little interesting. The reign of Dagobert furnishes some facts which show that a very considerable degree of wealth existed at that time in France. St. Eloy, a native of the province of Limousin, who was treasurer to Dagobert, and bishop of Noyon, was, in the early part of his life, an opulent goldsmith, and used to wear a bell set with diamonds when he came to court in the reign of Clotaire. He made for that prince a chair of massive gold, and for Dagobert an entire throne of the same metal. The relations of historians concerning the magnificence of that age would appear incredible, did they not point out the sources from whence those riches were derived. The Romans, who had established so many colonies, and built so many fine cities in Gaul, had undoubtedly brought into that country a part of that wealth of which they had plundered the world. And the Visigoths, when they established their kingdom at Toulouse under Adolphus, the brother of Alaric, must have brought thither a considerable share of the spoils of Italy and Rome. Another considerable source of wealth was the trade to the Levant, which had been opened to the French by negotiations with

the emperors of Constantinople. But it must be observed, that whatever historians may relate concerning the luxury and splendour of ancient times, ought to be considered as relating only to princes, prelates, grandees, and a few opulent merchants. Wealth was then in the hands of a very small number of persons, and in such a state of society as France, and indeed all Europe, presented before the extension of commerce and the effects of civilization had excited the industry and ameliorated the condition of the lower classes of the community, the splendour and magnificence of the great were not a sure criterion of the wealth of the people.

13. Dagobert being sole sovereign of France, the kingdom enjoyed a considerable share of prosperity, and presented on all sides a formidable front to its enemies. But the vices of the monarch debased the royal authority, and he burdened the people with taxes in order to support his debaucheries, or to expiate them by pious profusion. He founded the abbey of St. Denis, so long famous for being the burial-place of the kings of France; and his bequest of eight thousand pounds weight of lead to cover the church, was his last attempt to bribe heaven to pardon his sins. He died A. D. 643, and left two sons, Sigebert and Clovis, who, according to the former precedents, divided the kingdom.

14. From this period may be dated the first appearance of that singular political phenomenon, the power of the mayors of the palace, which makes so conspicuous a figure in the history of



France. The office of mayor of the palace was originally confined to the direction of the king's household: they afterwards became the first ministers of state, and, at length, commanders-in-chief of the armies, and assumed the title of "Dux Francorum," or "Duke of the French," or sometimes that of "Subregulus," or "Viceroy." At first they were subject to removal at the king's pleasure: they had afterwards the influence and address to secure their office for life, and at length to render it hereditary.

15. During the reigns of the sons and grandsons of Dagobert, constituting a period of about forty-five years, France continued to be divided into two kingdoms, (Austrasia and Neustria, the latter of which included Burgundy, and Metz was its capital. Each of these kingdoms had its mayor of the palace, whose power had almost absorbed the royal authority. During this period various changes of fortune took place amongst the princes, descendants of Dagobert, the details of which are now uninteresting.

16. Dagobert II. king of Austrasia, being assassinated about A. D. 678, Thierry III. who reigned over Neustria and Burgundy, became sole heir to the whole of the French monarchy. But the Austrasians dreading to fall under the power of Ebroin, mayor of the palace to Thierry, refused to acknowledge his authority, and chose Pepin d'Heristal, father of the celebrated Charles Martel, for their governor.

17. Pepin reigned over Austrasia with the title of duke; but he professed to acknowledge Thierry

as paramount sovereign, and to rule in his name. A rupture however took place about A. D. 690; and a battle decided the contest between the real and the nominal kings. Thierry was defeated, and Pepin usurped the supreme authority over the whole kingdom of France, under the title of mayor of the palace, while the former, divested of power retained only the ostensible appearance of royalty.

18. During the remainder of the life of Thierry, and those of his successors, Clovis III. Childibert III. and Dagobert III. Pepin continued to reign over France in their names, and was the real, while they were no more than the nominal sovereigns. His administration however was conducive to the prosperity of the kingdom. He reduced to obedience several provinces on the frontiers, which the divisions and weakness of the government in the preceding reigns had encouraged to revolt; and although he subverted the regal power, he greatly augmented the strength of the state.

19. Pepin being deprived by death, of both his legitimate sons, constituted his grandson Theodebald, who was yet an infant, mayor of the palace to Dagobert III. and placed him under the guardianship of his mother. Pepin himself died soon after, A. D. 714, and the people of France saw the royal authority transferred to an infant, and subjected to the control of a woman. A revolt was the consequence of so strange an arrangement. The infant Theodebald was divested of his authority. Dagobert III. dying at this juncture, was succeeded in his nominal sovereignty by Chilperic II.

son of Childeric II. and a nobleman named Rainfroy was constituted mayor of the palace.

20. In the meanwhile, Charles Martel, the son of Pepin by a concubine, making his escape from a prison, in which he had been confined by Theodebald's mother, appeared amongst the Austrasians, who received him with the greatest respect, and acknowledged him as duke of their country.

21. A war soon ensued between the new duke of Austrasia and Chilperic II. and the latter being defeated in several engagements fled into Aquitaine. Rainfroy, mayor of the palace, was divested of his office; and Charles Martel placed on the throne, in the room of Chilperic, another pageant king, known in history by the name of Clotharius IV. This revolution took place A. D. 719; but Clotharius dying the same year, Charles recalled Chilperic to the throne. Charles now united in his own person the whole authority of the French empire; and was king in every respect, excepting the name; although, for some reasons which history has not developed, he contented himself with the less ostentatious title of mayor of the palace.

22. Chilperic II. dying A. D. 720, Charles placed Thierry IV. son of Dagobert III. on the throne, and continued to reign over France in his name. His administration was highly conducive to the advantage and glory of the French nation. In the year 732, he gained over the Saracens that memorable victory which has immortalised his name. Abdoulrahman-ben-Abdollah-El-Gafiki, viceroy of Spain for the caliph Hakkam who reigned at Damascus, resolved to attempt the con-



quest of France, and passed over the Pyrenees with an army, which by its numbers seemed to defy all opposition. After defeating the duke of Aquitaine he made himself master of Bourdeaux, traversed the provinces of Perigord, Saintonge, and Poitou; destroyed the towns and the churches, and carried desolation and slaughter as far as the neighborhood of Tours. Charles Martel, alarmed at the danger which menaced France; and even all Christendom, marched with the whole force of the kingdom to check the progress of this formidable invader. On the south side of the Loire, and not far from Tours, the important contest was decided. The issue of the battle long remained doubtful; but at last the French gained one of the most complete victories that the history of the world commemorates. The carnage on the side of the Saracens was almost unprecedented: the most moderate statements of their loss make it amount to upwards of three hundred thousand men, amongst whom was their commander, the viceroy of Spain, who on this bloody day terminated his ambitious career. This brilliant and most important victory over an enemy who, until that celebrated day, had been deemed invincible, and threatened Europe with subjugation, threw a blaze of glory around the name of Charles Martel which time can never extinguish.\* The Saracens were soon after entirely expelled from France, and gave up all hopes of subduing that kingdom.

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\* It is supposed to have been on this occasion that Charles acquired the surname of Martel, or the Hammer.



23. After the death of Thierry IV. which happened A. D. 737, Charles continued to reign under the title of duke of the French, without nominating a new king; and, being victorious in every quarter, he sat down in peace, the fame of his exploits having rendered him the arbiter of Europe.

24. Charles Martel died A. D. 742, and was interred in the abbey of St. Denis. His two sons, Pepin and Carloman, shared the kingdom; but they remained closely united; and joining their forces, defeated the Bavarians, the Alemanni, the Saxons, and the Slavonians. About A. D. 746, Carloman retired to Rome, and embraced the monastic life, leaving Pepin sole master of the French monarchy.

25. Pepin had, for some unknown reasons, placed a nominal king; Childeric III. son of Chilperic II. on the throne, but without giving him any real power. At length, however, the minister, not contented with possessing the regal authority, resolved to assume the title of king. In this he was encouraged by pope Zachary; who, like himself, was a man of abilities and enterprise, and wanted his aid against the Greek emperor, Constantine Copronymus, and also against the Lombards. The sentiments of the nation likewise concurred with his own ambition. Through the influence of the pope, as well as in gratitude for favours received from Pepin, the clergy of France supported his pretensions: the nobles respected him for his military talents, and the people despised the pageant kings who had so long been no

more than mere shadows of royalty. In this state of things, a new dynasty was introduced, without any commotion in the state. The minister was placed on the throne A. D. 751; and the king, Childeric III. was shut up in a monastery. Thus ended the Merovingian line of kings, the royal race of Clovis, after having worn the crown of France during the space of two hundred and fifty years, reckoning from the time of that monarch's accession.

26. I have now, my dear sir, conducted you under the surest guidance that history can furnish, through a period which, although somewhat obscure at the first, becomes at length more luminous, and is certainly both curious and interesting. The latter part of this period exhibits a singular system of government: a long continued succession of kings without power, and of ministers invested with the supreme authority, constituting two hereditary races; one of real, the other of nominal sovereigns. In this political picture, the talents and activity of the mayors of the palace form a striking contrast to the imbecillity and inactivity of the kings; who, neither knowing nor caring what passed in the kingdom, were mere pageants of state, decorated with the insignia of royalty. The appellation of "faneants," or sluggards, given them by the French historians, is aptly expressive of their indolence.

27. In speaking of the magnificence and opulence displayed at the court of Dagobert I. I have endeavoured to furnish some slight notices concerning the commerce of France in those early

times; but of this part of the picture, a very faint outline alone can be traced. History has so much to commemorate, that ancient writers have left unnoticed many facts and circumstances, of which modern curiosity would desire a distinct memorial. The historians of former ages have furnished us with few documents relative to the state of society. Overlooking the general condition of mankind, they seem to have regarded the intrigues of courts, and the sanguinary contests of kings and warriors, as the only transactions worthy of being transmitted to posterity. And the antiquary of modern times finds himself lost in attempting to investigate the state of arts, sciences, letters, and commerce, at a remote period. Amidst this gloom however, we can perceive, that in the fourth century, the age immediately preceding the irruption of the Franks, learning flourished in Gaul, and the country had, in all probability, as extensive a commerce as any part of the western empire, unless we may except Italy. Autun, Bourdeaux, Toulouse, and Marseilles, were seats of the muses: the last of those cities was also an emporium of commerce. The Gauls had long been completely Romanized. and the Latin was the vulgar language of the country. And here it may not be amiss to observe, that the irruption of the Franks into Gaul was less violent; and less marked with destruction and carnage, than those of the Saxons into England; and those of the Goths, Heruli, &c. into Italy. From these circumstances it is reasonable to conclude, that neither religion nor learning, nor the happiness of civil society, received so great a shock by the entrance of the Franks into Gaul, as



by the irruptions of the other barbarous nations into some other provinces of the Roman empire. It therefore appears, that in the age of Clovis, France possessed as much learning as any country on this side of the Adriatic. The frequent divisions of the empire of the Franks, and their turbulent consequences, seem to have been more prejudicial to literature than their first conquest of the country; for the Benedictine authors of the "Literary History of France" have observed, that until the time of Charlemagne, learning was constantly on the decline.

After placing in your view this sketch of the early annals of one of the first nations of Europe, which you will contemplate as an assemblage of objects in distant perspective, and compare with the cotemporary period in the history of your own country, I shall for the present conclude with promising you further communications on this interesting subject. And I beg leave to assure you, that, with every sentiment of esteem and affection,

Your's, &c.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

- 1.—In what year did the reign of Clovis commence?
- 2.—What circumstances favored his designs?  
Why did the Gauls prefer a Pagan to an Arian Prince?  
What gave them hopes of the conversion of Clovis?
- 3.—How did Clovis overcome the prejudices of the Franks against Christianity?  
Who was the only Catholic monarch?
- 4.—How far did Clovis extend his conquests?
- 5.—What was the ancient name of Paris?  
Within what limits was the city comprised?  
From what did it derive its present name?
- 6.—In what year did Clovis die?



7.—Who succeeded him?

Under whose sceptre was the kingdom re-united?

8.—What events took place in England in the time of Clotaire?

9.—Who succeeded Clotaire?

Under whom was France again united?

10.—What was the character of Clotaire II?

11.—Who succeeded Clotaire II?

12.—Who made a throne of gold for Dagobert I?

What trade was a source of wealth to France?

13.—Who founded the abbey of St. Denis?

14.—When did the exorbitant power of the mayors of the palace begin to appear?

What was their original office?

15.—Into what kingdoms was France divided, under the successors of Dagobert I?

16.—Who was the father of Charles Martel?

17.—What authority did Pepin usurp? and under what title?

18.—

19.—

20.—Who was Charles Martel?

21.—What office and title did he assume?

22.—Where and in what year did Charles Martel defeat the Saracens?

What was the loss of the Saracens?

23.—Under what title did Charles reign during the interregnum?

24.—In what year did Charles Martel die?

Where was he buried?

Who succeeded him?

25.—Who did Pepin make king?

Who encouraged Pepin to usurp the throne?

How long had the Merovingian, or first race of kings, worn the crown of France?

26.—By what appellation are those kings after Dagobert I. distinguished?

27.—What was the vulgar language in Gaul in the fourth century?

How long was learning on the decline?

## LETTER III.

*Comprising a period of Sixty-four Years, from  
A. D. 750, to A. D. 814.*

Kings of France.

|              |   |                                                |
|--------------|---|------------------------------------------------|
| Pepin.       | } | The heptarchy still continu-<br>ed in England. |
| Charlemagne. |   |                                                |

DEAR SIR,

ACCORDING to my promise, I resume the plan which I had proposed for your instruction in one of the most important branches of European history, and shall make no apology for exhibiting to your view the most brilliant period of the French empire.

1. Pepin, the (son of Charles Martel,) having deposed Childeric III. the last of the Merovingian kings, as already related ascended the throne A. D. 751, being then about thirty-seven years of age. It may here be remarked, that princes whose title is defective, generally devise some expedient to impose on the minds of the people; and, in order to confer a kind of divine character on usurped royalty, Pepin was, in imitation of the Jewish kings, solemnly crowned and anointed, with consecrated oil, a ceremony unknown to his predecessors. Some writers pretend, that Clovis was anointed at his coronation, but the relation appears to be fabulous; and the president Henault expressly affirms that Pepin was the first king of France on whom that ceremony was performed.

2. Pepin soon began to signalize his reign by his military expeditions, and the success of his arms. Astolphus, King of the Lombards, had seized on the exarchate of Ravenna, an appendage to the Eastern empire; and, laying claim also to Rome, advanced towards that city. In consequence of this invasion, the Roman pontiff, Stephen III. went in person to Paris, to implore the assistance of the French monarch. Pepin immediately marched into Italy, recovered the exarchate from the Lombards, and conferred it on the pope, a circumstance which laid the foundation of the temporal power of the Roman See.

3. The successes of Pepin in Italy were not the only glories of his reign. He was victorious over the Saxons, the Bavarians, the Sclavonians, and the Duke of Aquitaine, whose duchy he annexed to the crown of France, of which it had hitherto been held as a fief. Having greatly aggrandized his power, and extended his fame, this great monarch died A. D. 768, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign, which had been uniformly successful and glorious. His character may be estimated from his conduct, both in politics and war, and forms a striking contrast with the indolence and imbecility of the "faneant" kings, his predecessors. His usurpation of the throne is the only crime that can be laid to his charge; but he wrested the sceptre from a race in whose hands it was useless; and he swayed it with glory and advantage to France. (From his diminutive stature) he is distinguished from his grandfather by the designation of Pepin the Short; but



his mind was capacious, and his courage invincible, being equally prudent in council, and intrepid in action.

4. The two sons of Pepin, Carloman and Charles, known by the name of Charlemagne, a corruption of "Carolus Magnus," or Charles the Great, succeeded their father, and France was threatened with intestine commotion by their ambition, and the collision of their interests. But the death of Carloman secured the public tranquility, by leaving Charles in possession of the undivided sovereignty of the whole kingdom. The reign of this prince was a series of important transactions, and produced a great revolution in the political and social state of Europe. His first military expedition was against the Saxons, whom he defeated near Paderborn, and pillaged their famous temple, where the idol Irminsul was worshipped. The conquest of the kingdom of the Lombards was his next achievement. Desiderius then swayed the sceptre of Lombardy. Charlemagne, and his brother Carloman, had espoused two daughters of that prince: the former had divorced his wife, and married a princess of Swabia; the latter had left two sons, who, after his death, had retired with their mother into Lombardy, where their grandfather Desiderius took them under his protection. The king of the Lombards resolving to assert the rights of the young princes, as successors of Carloman, drew upon himself a war which proved fatal to himself and his family. Charlemagne entered Italy, and defeated Desiderius; who, unable to keep the field, shut himself up in Pavia, his ca-



pital. The French monarch immediately laid siege to that city; which, after a long and desperate defence, was at last compelled to surrender. The unfortunate Desiderius, with all his family, including the widow of Carloman, and her two sons, fell into the hands of the conqueror, and were sent prisoners into France; but how they were afterwards disposed of is uncertain, as history is silent concerning their fate. Thus ended the kingdom of the Lombards, A. D. 774, after a duration of two hundred and six years. In the whole of this affair, the French monarch and the pope had gone hand in hand; and immediately after its conclusion, Adrian I. issued a decree, proclaiming Charlemagne king of Italy, and patrician of Rome.

5. Almost every year of the reign of Charlemagne was marked by some military enterprise, and signalized by some brilliant success. In the year 778, he undertook an expedition into Spain at the solicitation of the Saracen prince of Saragossa, who requested his assistance against the caliph of Cordova, offering to acknowledge his paramount sovereignty. The French monarch readily accepted this proposal, which furnished a pretext for extending his sway beyond the Pyrenees. Marching into Spain with the greatest celerity, he established the Saracen chieftain in Saragossa, and received homage of all the princes whose territories were situated to the north of the Ebro. But in repassing the Pyrenees, his rear was surprised, and nearly cut off, by the duke of Gasconne, in the valley of Roncevaux, where fell the famous Rowland, whose name has been immortalized by the early romances.

6. About two years after his Spanish expedition, Charlemagne made a kind of triumphal march through Italy to Rome; amidst reiterated applauses and accumulated honours; and at his request, the pope anointed and crowned his two sons, Pepin and Lewis, kings of Lombardy and Aquitaine.

7. The state of affairs in Germany now required his attention. Of all the enemies that Charlemagne ever had to encounter, the Saxons were the most desperate and intrepid. The last grand effort of that warlike people was made under the conduct of Witikind, the most celebrated of their generals. But their desperate valour was at length compelled to yield to the superior discipline and tactical skill of the French. After many battles, fought with the greatest obstinacy, and oceans of blood spilt on both sides, the Saxons were at length completely subdued. Bavaria was also annexed to France, and Charlemagne remained master of Germany: Witikind embraced Christianity, and all his subsequent conduct showed the sincerity of his conversion; but he could not inspire his followers with the same sentiments. Many of them entertained an inextinguishable hatred against the religion and domination of the conqueror. Charlemagne, therefore, in order to render their subjection complete and perpetual, removed the Saxons from their ancient possessions in Germany, and distributed them throughout Flanders, Helvetia, and other provinces of his dominions. Their country was repopled by colonies of the Adrites, a Sclavonian nation. By this decisive measure,

his power in that quarter was placed on a firm and permanent basis, while new conquests increased the extent of his empire. Towards the end of the eighth century, he made himself master of the kingdom of the Avars, formerly that of the Huns, comprising the modern Austria, Hungary, and Transylvania: France, Germany, and the Netherlands, part of Spain, as far as the river Ebro; and Italy, as far as Benevento, in the kingdom of Naples, were also under his dominion.

8. The power of the French monarch was now uncontrollable, and his glory was about to reach its meridian. Being at Rome on Christmas-day, A. D. 800, a singular scene was exhibited, which notwithstanding the surprise affected by Charlemagne, had undoubtedly been preconcerted between him and the pope. While this prince attended at mass; in the church of St. Peter, the sovereign pontiff, Leo III. approaching him, placed an imperial crown on his head. The people immediately began to cry, with loud acclamations, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by the hand of God! Long live the great and pious emperor of the Romans!" The pope then conducted him to a superb throne prepared for that important occasion, and presented him with the imperial robe. His title was universally acknowledged, and congratulations poured in from every quarter. Thus the western empire, which expired in the year 476 with Augustulus, its last emperor, was revived in the person



of Charlemagne, and continued till the unprecedented commotions which have, in our days, convulsed all Europe, occasioned its dissolution.

9. In the year 803, Nicephorus, who had usurped the imperial throne of Constantinople, and been recently crowned emperor of the East, acknowledged Charlemagne as emperor of the West, and the boundaries of the two empires were settled by treaty. This monarch had now some years of leisure, which he employed in promoting the interests of learning, and enacting good laws for the governing of his dominions. For this purpose, the grand Capitularies were drawn up at Aix-la-Chapelle. It may here be observed, that the Capitularies were laws enacted in the general assemblies, and were nearly of the same nature, and answering the same purpose, as our acts of Parliament.

10. Although Charlemagne must be considered as one of the most sagacious princes that ever swayed a sceptre, yet he stumbled upon that grand solecism in politics, of which history had in so many instances recorded, and his predecessors had so often experienced, the disastrous effects. In a general assembly of the nobles and prelates, A. D. 806, he made a testamentary division of his dominions amongst his three sons, Pepin, Lewis, and Charles. Pepin and Charles died a few years after this arrangement. But Charlemagne confirmed to Bernard the son of Pepin, his father's share of the partition, and proclaimed that young prince king of Italy.

11. About the commencement of the ninth cen-



tury, the barbarous nations bordering on the Baltic began their predatory descents on the coasts of England and France. In England they were known by the name of Danes: on the continent; they were, from their northerly situation, indiscriminately called Normans. Their name was accompanied with terror, and their footsteps were marked with destruction. Charlemagne seeing his maritime provinces threatened, and sometimes insulted by those ferocious and daring marauders, took the most judicious measures for preventing their ravages. He visited his harbours, and built a number of ships of war, which he placed in fit stations on all the coasts of his extensive dominions. Boulogne was one of the chief of these stations: its port was repaired, and rendered commodious for that purpose. The nobility had orders for personal service by sea as well as by land, and to appear with their vassals on board of the fleets, as well as in the armies. By these precautions, Charlemagne averted, during his reign, the storm which afterwards fell upon France, although not with so decisive effects as upon England.

12. This great and celebrated monarch, who swayed with such glory the sceptre of France, and in whose person the Western empire was revived, departed this life on the 28th of January, A. D. 814, at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and the forty-sixth of his reign over France, having been thirty-nine years king of Italy, and thirteen years emperor. His character was not less remarkable than the events of his reign. As a consummate statesman, his name

shines in the historic page with peculiar brilliancy. His views were extensive; his projects were vast: and as he always employed the most effectual means for carrying them into execution, his enterprises generally terminated with the most splendid successes. His military qualifications, like those of Alexander, can scarcely be estimated with accuracy: his victories were numerous, brilliant, and decisive; but, like the Macedonian conqueror, he never came into contact with an enemy whose troops were equal in discipline and skill to those that he commanded, and therefore we have no criterion by which we can form a just estimate of his abilities as a general.

13. In religious affairs, he often assumed a tone of decision unbecoming in any individual, how exalted soever his rank and situation. But those who are supreme in power too often consider themselves infallible in judgment, and Charlemagne expected that his own opinions should constitute the creed of his subjects. An inviolable attachment to the papal see was intermingled with his politics, and to him and his father the pontiffs of Rome were indebted for the foundation of that power which, although kept within the bounds of moderation during his reign, became in process of time so tyrannical and formidable. The success of his arms, however, was conducive to the extension of Christianity, although for its propagation he sometimes used means not exactly conformable to the mild spirit of the Gospel. To the ambition of a conqueror, he joined the zeal of a converter. He founded several bishops' sees in Germany, and

to him that country owed the introduction of the Christian religion, as well as the first rudiments of civilization.

14. The efforts of Charlemagne for the advancement of commerce, and the embellishment of his dominions, are worthy of commemoration. Besides causing public highways to be made or repaired, and bridges to be constructed where necessary, he projected a grand canal for the purpose of opening a communication between the German ocean and the Euxine sea, by joining the Rhine with the Danube. This canal, which would have been to France, the Netherlands, and Germany, what the Grand Junction canal is to England, was begun on a large scale; but through the ignorance of the engineers of that age, who were unable to surmount such difficulties as would vanish before modern ingenuity, it was never completed. He also founded and embellished a number of cities, and rebuilt many of those of Italy which, in consequence of the long troubles and frequent revolutions of that country, were fallen into a state of dilapidation and decay. Amongst these were Genoa, which had been destroyed successively by the Saracens and the Lombards; and Florence, which had lain for the space of two centuries in ruins. In Germany, he built Aix-la-Chapelle in the most magnificent style of that age, and made it his ordinary residence.

15. Of a prince so famed in history, the most trifling notices gratify curiosity and excite interest. (His person was athletic, his constitution robust, and his stature almost gigantic.) He was



the tallest and strongest man of his time, and the activity of his disposition was equal to the strength of his frame. In private life, his manners were not less amiable and engaging than his public character was illustrious. He was frugal and temperate: his house was a model of economy, and his dress of simplicity. Eginhard, the writer of his life, informs, that "he wore only a plain doublet which, in winter, was made of an otter's skin, a woollen tunic fringed with silk, and a blue coat or cassock: his breeches and stockings consisted of transverse bands or fillets of cloth of different colours." Such was the dress of the greatest monarch of Europe, except on particular occasions, which required a display of royal and imperial magnificence.

16. But the most striking, and to the eye of reason and intellect, the most interesting trait in the character of Charlemagne, must be contemplated in his efforts for the revival of learning. Providence had placed his reign in a dark and ignorant age; but his great and comprehensive mind would have done honour to the most enlightened period. Notwithstanding the immense political machine, the operations of which he had to direct, and the wars in which he was so frequently engaged, he seldom neglected his studies either in the court or the camp. He delighted in the company and conversation of learned men, and drew them by liberal encouragement, to his court from all parts of Europe. Amongst these illustrious luminaries of a dark and illiterate age was the famous Alcuin, an Anglo-Saxon divine, who was a native of York,



and received his education in that city, a circumstance which, in concurrence with some others, seems to indicate, that in the latter times of the heptarchy, England possessed more learning than France. Charlemagne thus established in his palace an academy, of which he esteemed it an honor to rank as a member. But his exertions for the revival of learning were not confined within the precincts of his court. He established schools in the cathedrals and principal abbeys; and from these institutions the universities of Paris, Tours, Thoulouse, and several others, are generally supposed to derive their origin. In peace, and in war, the interests of literature and science occupied an ample share of his attention; and he honoured and rewarded learning and genius with imperial munificence. In order to appreciate the character of this extraordinary man, and the importance of his reign, it is necessary to observe, that he was the first prince, who, after the subversion of the Roman empire, made any attempt for the revival of letters and the advancement of commerce in the west of Europe: that, although in an age of universal darkness and ignorance the efforts of one single monarch could make but little progress towards the attainment of objects so desirable, he first gave an impulse, of which the operation never after entirely ceased; and that his institutions eventually contributed, perhaps in a greater degree than is generally imagined, to the civilization of this quarter of the globe.

17. You have now, my dear Sir, had the pleasure of contemplating the most splendid period of

French history. You have seen dazzling achievements and important events passing in review before your eyes, and had an opportunity of observing how great a change the abilities of a single individual, placed in a particular situation, and in contact with favourable circumstances, may sometimes effect in the state of the world. The character of Charlemagne has undoubtedly attracted your attention and excited your admiration. And his reign, distinguished by the exaltation of the see of Rome, the revival of the Western empire, the conquest and conversion of Germany, the foundation of a number of cities and bishoprics, and the establishment of a new political system in Europe, affords ample scope for reflection. I shall for the present leave you to revolve these things in your mind and fix them in your memory, while I prepare materials for our further correspondence; and presume that you will believe me when I say, that, with the most sincere respect and esteem,

I remain, dear sir,  
Your's &c.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

- 1.—Whose son was Pepin, king of France?  
In what year did he ascend the throne?
- 2.—Who laid the foundation of the temporal power of the Popes?
- 3.—Over what enemies was Pepin victorious?  
In what year did Pepin die?  
Why was he surnamed "the Short?"
- 4.—By whom was Pepin succeeded?  
Where did Charlemagne defeat the Saxons?  
Who conquered the kingdom of the Lombards?

In what year was it conquered? 774

How long had it subsisted? 6

5.—Where did the famous Rowland fall in battle?

6.—

7.—Who were the most daring enemies that Charlemagne ever encountered?

Who was their leader?

How did Charlemagne dispose of the Saxons?

When did Charlemagne conquer Austria, Hungary, &c.

What countries composed Charlemagne's dominions?

8.—On what day, and in what year, was Charlemagne crowned emperor of the Romans?

9.—What were the Capitularies?

10.—Into what political error did Charlemagne fall?

11.—When did the Danes or Normans begin to be known by their depredations?

Were the Danes and Normans the same people?

What port was one of the chief stations for Charlemagne's fleet?

12.—When and where did Charlemagne die?

What was his age?

How long did he reign over France? How long over Italy? How long was he emperor?

What was his character as a statesman?

Why cannot we form a correct judgment of his military talents?

With whom may he be compared in this respect?

13.—What tone did Charlemagne assume in religious matters?

Who founded several bishoprics in Germany?

For what was Germany indebted to Charlemagne?

14.—Who projected the junction of the Rhine and the Danube by canal?

Who rebuilt Genoa and Florence?

Who built Aix-La-Chapelle?

15.—Can you describe the person of Charlemagne?

Of what description were his manners?

What was his ordinary dress?

16.—What was the most interesting part of his character?



In what company did he delight?

Who was Alcuin? Where was he born and educated?

Where did Charlemagne establish schools?

To what did his institutions eventually contribute?

17.—By what important events was his reign distinguished?

## LETTER IV.

*Comprising a period of a hundred and seventy-three years, from A. D. 814, to A. D. 987.*

| Kings of France of the race of Charlemagne.                          | Cotemporary emperors of the race of Charlemagne. | Cotemporary kings of Eng. land.                                          |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Lewis I. surnamed the Debonnaire, king of France and emperor.        | The same<br>Lewis the Debonnaire.                | Egbert who united the heptarchy, A. D. 828<br>Ethelwolf.                 |
| Charles the Bald, king of France, A. D. 840. and emperor, A. D. 875. | Lotharius.<br>Lewis the II.<br>Charles the Bald. | Ethelwolf.<br>Ethelbald.<br>Ethelbert.<br>Ethelred.<br>Alfred the Great. |
| Lewis II. surnamed the Stammerer, king of France, and emperor.       | Lewis the Stammerer.                             | Alfred the Great.                                                        |



| Kings of France of the race of Charlemagne.                                         | Cotemporary emperors of the race of Charlemagne. | Cotemporary kings of England.                         |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| Lewis III. and Charlo-man, divide France                                            | Charles the Fat.                                 | Alfred the Great.                                     |
| Charles the Fat, now king of France, and emperor.                                   | Charles the Fat.                                 | Alfred the Great.                                     |
| Eudes and Charles the Fat, divide France.                                           | Charles the Fat Arnold.                          | Alfred the Great.                                     |
| Charles III surnamed the simple.                                                    | Lewis IV. the last French emperor.               | Edward the Elder.                                     |
| Rhodolf.                                                                            |                                                  | Edward the El. Athelstan.                             |
| Lewis IV. surnamed Transmarine.                                                     |                                                  | Athelstan. Edred.                                     |
| Lothaire.                                                                           |                                                  | Edwy.<br>Edgar.<br>Edward the Martyr.<br>Ethelred II. |
| Lewis V. surnamed the Slothful, the last king of France of the race of Charlemagne. |                                                  | Ethelred II.                                          |

DEAR SIR,

In resuming our correspondence, I shall in the first place observe, that the vast political fabrick erected by Charlemagne, required the vigilant superintendence of a monarch, endowed with his genius and spirit, in order to preserve it from dilapidation. But talents are not hereditary. In perusing my last letter, you were dazzled with the brilliancy of his achievements and the glories of his reign, but you will now perceive that the annals of his empire during almost two centuries after his death, are little more than a catalogue of crimes and calamities, a display of the weakness and incapacity of his successors, and a register of their misfortunes.

1. Lewis the Debonnaire, son and successor of Charlemagne, had enjoyed the advantage of the best education that those dark ages could afford; but wanting his father's decision of character, he was incapable of weilding so weighty a sceptre as that which had fallen into his hand. The ostensible zeal of Charlemagne, for the interests of religion had greatly increased his power; but the ill judged piety of Lewis degraded his authority; for by occupying himself too much with the affairs of the church, and too little with those of the state, he incurred the hatred of the clergy, and lost the esteem of the laity.

2. His greatest political error was the partition of his dominions, a system of which the disastrous consequences had, since the establishment of the French monarchy, been so often experienced. In

the third year of his reign, he made his eldest son, Lotharius his colleague in the empire and the kingdom of France, and created his two younger sons, Pepin and Lewis, kings of Aquitaine and Bavaria.

This arrangement was the first source of discord amongst the descendants of Charlemagne. The princes of that race, how nearly soever allied in consanguinity, soon began to be alienated from one another by the collision of their interests. Bernard, king of Italy, had already taken umbrage at the elevation of Louis the Debonnaire to the imperial dignity by Charlemagne, in preference to himself, who was the issue of the eldest son; and being further exasperated by the disposition which Lewis had made in favour of Lotharius, he resolved to have recourse to arms. This determination however was fatal to the unfortunate prince. The emperor marched against his nephew the king of Italy, took him prisoner, and caused him to be deprived of sight. Bernard died of this cruel operation, and the kingdom of Italy was re-united to France.

3. The stings of conscience, however, or the necessity of conciliating the clergy, induced Lewis to perform public penance for the murder of his nephew. This show of repentance, if it did not expiate his crime, gave great satisfaction to the prelates, who now being fully convinced of their ascendancy over the monarch, turned it ably to their own advantage.

4. The emperor having espoused a second wife, Judith of Bavaria, that union proved the chief source of his future misfortunes. His new con-



sort brought him a son named Charles, afterwards known by the surname of Bald. This prince having no share in the former division, obtained some provinces in the eastern part of France, which were dismembered from the dominions of his brothers. Lotharius, Pepin, and Lewis, offended at this new partition, accused the empress of a criminal correspondence with the count of Barcelona, and under the pretext of vindicating the honour of their father formed a confederacy, and having stripped him of his dominions, shut both him and his consort up in a monastery. The mutual jealousies of the three brothers and the haughtiness of Lotharius dissolved their union. And in a general diet Lewis was restored to the throne; Judith was replaced in her former situation; and Lotharius was excluded from his partnership in the empire.

5. The emperor's three sons soon formed a new confederacy, and recommenced the war against their father. The unhappy emperor being deserted by his army, fell into the hands of his unnatural sons, by whom he was a second time deposed. They also caused him to be arraigned in an assembly of the states, and condemned to do penance for life. In consequence of this sentence, the unfortunate son and successor of the great and prosperous Charlemagne was divested of his imperial robes, clothed in sackcloth and confined to a cloister. Judith was banished to Tortona, and young Charles was shut up in the monastery of Prum. But new dissensions amongst the three brothers occasioned another revolution, which res-



tored their father the emperor to the throne, and the company of his consort.

6. This monarch being now advanced in age, and growing infirm, made a new division of his dominions. He assigned Italy to Lotharius, Germany and Bavaria to Lewis, Aquitaine to Pepin, and to Charles France and Burgundy. This arrangement gave fresh umbrage to the three eldest brothers: who on that account renewed the war against their father. Pepin died soon after its commencement; and the emperor disinheriting his two sons, annexed Aquitaine to the dominions of Charles; So flagrant an act of injustice excited the nobility of that kingdom to revolt; and the emperor marched an army into their country, in order to reduce them to obedience. In the meanwhile, Lewis, king of Bavaria and Germany, took this opportunity to seize on several towns belonging to his father, who found it necessary to march in person against the invader.

7. The misfortunes of Lewis the Debonnaire were now drawing near to their termination. Being already indisposed, and greatly shocked at the conduct of his unnatural sons, with whom he was obliged to be perpetually at war; a total eclipse of the sun, which happened during his march, struck him with a terror which operated fatally on a mind naturally weak, and still more enfeebled by superstition and misfortunes. He regarded it as an omen of his approaching dissolution; as if Heaven had deemed it necessary to prognosticate the demise of a monarch so unfit to reign. The impression, however, which it left on his mind, hasten-

ed the accomplishment of the prediction which superstition had suggested. At the end of about forty days he died of fasting and melancholy in an island of the Rhine, near Mentz, on the 23d of June, A. D. 840, in the sixty-second year of his age, and the twenty-sixth of his reign, which was as unhappy and inglorious as that of his father had been splendid and prosperous.

8. When we consider the importance which Charlemagne attached to the culture of intellect, we may presume that his sons were not uninstructed in letters and science; and accordingly, Lewis the Debonnaire is represented by historians as a learned prince for the times in which he lived, and tolerably skilled in astronomy. The terror with which he was affected by an eclipse appears inconsistent with such a character; but it must be observed, that when the mind is enfeebled by superstition, or disordered by melancholy, the imagination is not always regulated by the understanding.

9. Lewis the Debonnaire was succeeded by his youngest son Charles the Bald, in the kingdom of France, and by Lotharius in the imperial dignity. Lewis, their brother, was at the same time king of Bavaria. The extensive empire of Charlemagne, split into different kingdoms, and divided amongst his descendants, soon began to exhibit a disgusting picture of their follies, their crimes and misfortunes. The sons of Lewis the Debonnaire turned against one another those arms which they had employed against their father. Community of interests and danger induced Charles the Bald, king

of France, and Lewis king of Bavaria, to unite in opposing the ambition of Lotharius. At Fontenay in Burgundy, a battle was fought A. D. 841, between the contending brothers, and few conflicts have been more bloody, as upwards of a hundred thousand men are said to have fallen in that ensanguined field. Lotharius, and his nephew, young Pepin, who had joined him in order to assert his right to the kingdom of Aquitaine, were totally defeated by Charles and Lewis. But Lotharius having retired into Saxony, levied so formidable an army that his two brothers thought it advisable to terminate the contest by negotiation. By the treaty which was concluded, Lotharius was left in possession of the imperial dignity and the kingdom of Italy, with all the eastern part of France, or the country enclosed by the Rhine, the Meuse, the Rhone, and the Alps: Charles retained the whole of western France; and Lewis had all Germany, whence he is distinguished in history by the surname of Germanic. It will not be amiss in this place again to observe, that the boundaries of the different kingdoms, into which France was so often divided by the descendants of Charlemagne as well as by those of Clovis, cannot now be ascertained by the best French historians; and consequently that all designations of them are to be considered only as approximations to geographical precision.

10. Charles the Bald being occupied in repelling the Normans, who had made inroads into France, was dispossessed of Aquitaine by his nephew Pepin; but this young prince was soon strip-



ped of his newly acquired possessions; and Charles ordered him to be shut up in the abbey of St. Medard at Soissons. In the following year Pepin made his escape and returned to Aquitaine, where he was made prisoner and sent to Charles, who ordered him into confinement at Senlis, and shut up his sons in monasteries.

11. In the year 855; the emperor Lotharius died, after putting on the monastic habit in order to cover his sins and to make the world forget that he had treated his father with ingratitude and barbarity; that he had persecuted his brothers, and that his ambition, and restless disposition, which neither filial nor fraternal affection could restrain, had been the principal cause of almost all the misfortunes with which Europe had so long been afflicted. His son, Lewis II. succeeded him in the imperial dignity and the kingdom of Italy.

12. Charles the Bald, king of France, and Lewis the Germanic, were now the only two sons of Lewis the Debonnaire that were left in existence; and they soon began to invade each other's dominions. But Charles recovered several places which Lewis had conquered; and at length a treaty of peace terminated a war in which neither party had gained any advantage.

13. About this time, and several years afterwards, the Normans made frequent and terrible irruptions into the maritime provinces. These daring marauders often sailed up the Rhine, the Meuse, the Seine, and the Loire; and scarcely any part of France or the Netherlands, near the coast or the large rivers, escaped their ravages. In



viewing cotemporary events it may not be amiss to observe, that in the year 867, the twenty seventh of the reign of Charles the Bald over France, the same people under the appellation of Danes, sailed up the Humber and Ouse, took the city of York, and established themselves in England.

14. In consequence of the death of the emperor Lewis II. A. D. 875; Charles the Bald marched to Rome, and obtained the imperial crown, and the kingdom of Italy, notwithstanding the opposition of his nephew Carloman, son of Lewis the Germanic, who founded his claim on his father's right of primogeniture. But Charles did not long enjoy his new dignity. On his march against his nephew, Carloman, who had levied a powerful army in order to support his pretensions, this monarch was poisoned by a Jew, his physician, and died at Brios, a small village at the foot of Mount Cenis, on the 6th of Oct. A. D. 877, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign over France, having possessed nearly two years the kingdom of Italy and the title of emperor. It is somewhat astonishing that history does not inform us whether the physician was punished, nor what was his motive for committing such a crime.

15. The character of Charles the Bald may be estimated from the general tenor of his reign. The activity which he showed in obtaining the imperial crown, in prejudice to the right of his nephew, shows that he was not devoid of ambition, nor very scrupulous in regard to the means which he used for effecting his purposes. His reign, like that of his predecessor, is marked by the exaltation

of the church and the nobility. Either from indecision of character, or from the circumstances of the times, he was unable to maintain the rights of the crown against the usurpations of the papal see, and the encroachments of his own subjects; and he gave a deadly blow to the regal power by rendering public honours and offices hereditary. Some excuse however may be pleaded in favour of Charles, from the consideration that the turbulent reign of his predecessor, Lewis the Debonnaire, had thrown every thing into confusion.

16. Charles the Bald was succeeded by his son Lewis, surnamed the Stammerer, who was obliged to purchase the crown at the price which the prelates and nobles imposed, granting privileges and emoluments to the former, and conferring on the latter, lands, offices, and honors. This prince died A. D. 879, at the age of about thirty-four, having reigned about eighteen months. He was succeeded in the imperial dignity by his cousin Carloman, son of Lewis the Germanic, and by his two sons Lewis and Carloman in the kingdom of France.

17. Lewis and Carloman made a new partition of France, which they divided between them. These two kings continued in strict alliance; but they were constantly engaged in wars against other princes of their family, particularly against Lewis, the second son of Lewis the Germanic, to whom they were obliged to cede a considerable part of Lorrain. They were also greatly harrassed by the Normans, who desolated the maritime provinces of France and the Netherlands by repeated irruptions.

The death of Lewis III. without issue, in the year 882, left Carloman the undivided possession of the crown, which, at his death, A. D. 884, devolved on Charles the Fat, youngest son of Lewis the Germanic. This prince having succeeded his brother, the emperor Carloman, A. D. 880, was already possessed of the imperial crown when he ascended the throne of France; but he was destitute of the firmness of mind and decision of character that were necessary for supporting so great a weight of empire in times so unsettled and turbulent.

18. In the year 885, the Normans laid siege to the capital of France. The Parisians defended their city with the most undaunted resolution. Eudes, count of Paris, and Goslin the bishop, gained immortal honour by their valour and patriotism. The siege had continued two years when Charles came at length to the relief of his capital, and made his appearance at Mont Martre with the whole military force of his dominions. But preferring a shameful negotiation to a doubtful conflict, he purchased their retreat with money instead of forcing them to it by arms. Charles had never been respected; but this ignominious treaty entirely ruined his reputation. His subjects revolted, and he died without issue, A. D. 888, in a state of dereliction and obscurity.

19. Charles the Fat was succeeded in the imperial dignity by Arnulf or Arnold, an illegitimate son of the emperor Carloman, and in the kingdom of France by Eudes, count of Paris, who had so greatly distinguished himself by his vigorous de-



fence of that city when besieged by the Normans.

20. Charles, surnamed the Simple, being son of Lewis the Stammerer, was the acknowledged heir of the family of Charlemagne; but his youth served as a pretext for setting aside his right of succession; and in an assembly of the prelates and nobles, Eudes was proclaimed and crowned king of France. But notwithstanding the courage and abilities of this prince, the kingdom still continued a theatre of contention. A powerful party arose in favour of Charles, which caused an intestine war. At length the two rival princes concluded a treaty, by which Charles kept possession of the provinces on the north of the Seine, and Eudes reigned over the rest of the kingdom. The war between them, however, was soon renewed; and Eudes died A. D. 898, in the forty-first year of his age, and the tenth of his reign, without being able to calm the disorders of the state, which indeed were too great to admit of a remedy.

21. The elevation of Eudes was the first interruption in the succession of the Carlovingian dynasty. This interruption; however, was only temporary. On the demise of that prince, Charles the Simple was left in possession of the whole kingdom, and held the sceptre of united France as legitimate heir of the house of Charlemagne. But the title of king was now only an empty sound and the crown an useless decoration, to which was attached no power. The nobles openly aspired to independence; the governors of provinces assumed sovereign authority within the limits of their respective governments, and extorted from the



monarch the confirmation of their usurped powers for themselves and their heirs, on the easy condition of an empty homage. Hence arose the sovereignty of the dukes of Burgundy, Brittany, Languedoc, the counts of Flanders, Champagne, &c. who were sovereigns in their respective territories barely acknowledging their vassalage to the crown. From this cause, France soon began to be desolated by the wars which the nobles incessantly waged one against another, and which the king was unable to prevent or repress.

22. This state of royal weakness and aristocratical anarchy, afforded to the Normans an opportunity of obtaining a permanent and legitimate settlement in France. For the space of a century they had harassed the maritime provinces by desultory inroads, and had recently established themselves in a part of Neustria, which from them derived the name of Normandy. The possession of that province opened to them a way into the interior of France, and Paris was exposed to their insults. This deplorable situation of the kingdom induced Charles to conclude with the Normans a treaty of peace, in which he consented to give his daughter Giselle in marriage to Rollo their chieftain, and to confirm him in the possession of Normandy, with the title of duke, on condition that he should embrace Christianity, and acknowledge by homage the paramount jurisdiction of the French monarchs. This establishment of the Normans in France, which took place A. D. 912, constitutes an epoch of great importance in the history of that kingdom, and must be considered

as an event which has not had less influence on the affairs of England.

23. The first results of this transaction exhibit in a striking manner the power of circumstances on human conduct, and the beneficial effects of Christianity. Rollo being firmly established in his new acquisitions, and having with his followers embraced the Christian religion, soon showed that his prudence was equal to his courage and enterprising spirit. His strict administration of justice has rendered his name famous in history; and by his encouragement of agriculture and industry, he enriched and embellished the country which his arms had devastated. Thus a band of depredators became good citizens, and their leader one of the most prudent princes and legislators of the age.

24. The same year, 912, is marked by the death of Lewis IV. the last emperor of the race of Charlemagne. The imperial crown ought, by right of succession, to have devolved on Charles the Simple; but that prince whose power was almost annihilated by the usurpations of the nobility, found himself unable to assert his claim to the empire. Conrad, duke of Franconia, was elected emperor by the nobles of Germany: the imperial dignity was thus wrested from the posterity of Charlemagne, and for ever separated from the crown of France.

25. Charles the Simple was, in the latter part of his reign, extremely unfortunate. Robert, brother of Eudes the late king, having formed a powerful party, assumed the regal title and was crown-

ed at Rheims. Charles marched against him, and a battle ensued, in which Robert was killed, although his army was victorious. Charles being defeated, fled for shelter to Herbert, count of Vermandois, who confined him in the castle of Peronne, where he died A. D. 929. His consort made her escape into England, where she was kindly received by her brother king Athelstan. Her son Lewis, by whom she was accompanied, was: from this expatriation beyond sea, surnamed the "Transmarine."

26. On the imprisonment of Charles the Simple, a second interruption took place in the Carolingian succession. Rhodolph, duke of Burgundy, was elected king, and was crowned at Soissons. This prince, in order to procure his election, distributed a great part of the crown lands amongst the nobility, and reduced the royal demesnes within as narrow limits as the regal authority. During the reign of Rhodolph, France was a scene of anarchy. This prince died without issue, A. D. 936, in the eighth year of a troublesome and turbulent reign.

27. Hugh, duke of Burgundy, count of Paris and Orleans, surnamed the Great, was the richest and most powerful of all the French lords, and possessed an authority nearly similar to that of Pepin D'Heristal, and Charles Martel, under the last Merovingian kings. Like them, however, he contented himself with possessing the supreme power, and instead of assuming the regal title, he called Lewis the Transmarine out of England, and placed him on the throne.



28. The family of Charlemagne was thus a second time restored to the throne of France. But the reign of Lewis the Transmarine was as turbulent and anarchical as those of his predecessors. In a war with the revolted nobles, he was unsuccessful; but was saved from ruin by the mediation of the pope. A rupture afterwards taking place between Lewis and Hugh the Great, count of Paris, the king was taken prisoner by that nobleman, and was liberated only on such conditions as the victor thought fit to impose. This prince died of a fall from his horse, A. D. 954, in the eighteenth year of his reign.

29. Lewis the Transmarine was succeeded by his eldest son Lothaire, who reigned under the protection of Hugh the Great. That nobleman, indeed, possessed the whole authority and power of the state, while the king was only a pageant of royalty. Hugh the Great died A. D. 956, when there was only one step between him and the throne. This reign is not marked by any considerable events; but it was a scene of continual wars amongst the nobles: the royal demesne being reduced almost to the single town of Laon, the king was not able to take any part in the contests of his vassals, many of whom were more powerful than himself. Lothaire, however, is represented as a prince of considerable abilities and great personal courage; but it was become impossible to retrieve the affairs of the kingdom, which had now fallen into so great disorder as not to admit of a remedy, except that which the lapse of ages, and the gradual progress of civilization, was at length to afford.



30. Lothaire died of poison, A. D. 985, at the age of forty-five, and in the thirtieth or thirty-first year of a nominal reign. He was succeeded by his son Lewis V. who, like his father, was removed from the world by poison, after having reigned little more than one year. Charles, duke of Lorrain, son of Lewis the Transmarine, was the legitimate heir, but the descendents of Charlemagne had now fallen into contempt; and Hugh Capet, duke or count of Paris, and son of Hugh the Great, seized the throne.

31. You have now, my dear sir, seen pass in review the family of Charlemagne, which exhibits the same picture as the posterity of Clovis. In both these races of kings, (the frequent partitions of their dominions gave the first fatal blow to their power.) The contentions between the different branches of each family increased the strength of the nobles, and weakened the royal authority. During the reigns of the last kings of the second race, the family of Hugh the Great, count of Paris, possessed the same power as the mayors of the palace under the Merovingian dynasty, and the conduct of Pepin was the prototype of that of Hugh Capet.

32. It was under the kings of the race of Charlemagne, that the aristocratical power, which was equally hostile both to the royal prerogative and to the liberties of the people, attained to its greatest height. The origin of the feudel system is obscured by the lapse of time, and the ignorance of unlettered ages. Some authors think that they can discover traces of its existence amongst the German

nations, before their subversion of the Roman empire; and, indeed, their universal adoption of that system, at least in an imperfect form, soon after their establishment in the Roman provinces, affords a presumption that it had, in some degree, existed amongst them before they passed the limits of their own country.

33. The feudal system, considered in its rise, its progress, and its decline, has afforded matter for many and long dissertations. But any discussion of a subject so abstruse, so intricate, and so complex, would be inconsistent with the plan of a short and familiar epistolary correspondence, and but little interesting to a juvenile mind. It will not, however, be amiss to observe, that all systems of government and civil polity derive their origin from the circumstances in which men are placed in different countries and in different periods of time. Amongst absolute savages, a perfect equality reigns; for as there is no distinct title to property, there is nothing that can produce a distinction of rank. Bodily strength and dexterity, with some sort of cunning in stratagem, can alone give to one man any ascendancy over another; and amongst isolated individuals or families, even this kind of superiority is exceedingly loose and precarious, and is perceptible only when the inferior happens to come into contact with the superior. But as soon as savages are united in tribes, the superiority arising from personal qualities becomes more perceptible and permanent, although not hereditary. When lands are divided and appropriated, and the inhabitants of any country have taken the first steps

towards civilization, individuals find various means of acquiring wealth; and wealth is always accompanied by influence. It is then that the general scramble for property and power begins, which amongst semi-civilized nations is always productive of confusion. Those who by their abilities or good fortune have raised themselves above the mass of the people, make it their first care to preserve and perpetuate the superiority which they have acquired; and thus we may discover the origin of hereditary ranks and distinctions, and the accumulation of riches, influence, and power in certain fortunate families. In this state we find almost every nation in the first period of its history—the higher classes in possession of every thing—the lower, abject, poor, and depressed, and considered as nothing in the community, unless it were as slaves to labour for the grandees, or as soldiers to fight their battles; and here we may perceive the stamina of that which, in most countries, arose in process of time to a complete feudal system, which sanctioned the licentious liberty of a few hundreds and confirmed their authority over millions of slaves. The government of all the nations which established themselves on the ruins of the Roman empire was monarchical; and the next step of the nobles, after having completely depressed the people, was to render themselves as much as possible independent of the sovereign. From this source originated innumerable scenes of contest, of which the issue was various in different countries and in different periods of time. Princes who possessed great political and military talents, seconded by



favorable circumstances, sometimes established a despotism on the ruins of the aristocracy; but under weak and unenterprising monarchs, the nobles almost always triumphed over the crown.

34. This was the case in France under the last kings of the race of Charlemagne. Every province being seized by some powerful nobleman, the whole kingdom was divided into separate provinces, only nominally dependent on the crown. No state of civil society could be more anarchical and unhappy than that which France then displayed. The nobles waged continual wars amongst themselves, while the king, without power, and almost entirely deprived of his dominions, could do nothing to curb the ambition of those who called themselves his vassals, but totally disregarded his authority. The system of usurpation and oppression descended from superior to inferior in a long train of feudal subordination. The possessor of a single castle or petty district, while he paid homage as a vassal to the usurper of a province, acted as a sovereign over his own dependants; and the great mass of the people was reduced to a state of absolute servitude, or to a condition so precarious and wretched, that the few who possessed freedom were glad to exchange it for protection, in an age when all law but that of force was extinct.

35. In making an enquiry into the state of literature and science during those early periods of French history; you will, my dear sir, recollect what I have mentioned in my second letter, that at the accession of Clovis, learning flourished in Gaul and that the Latin was the vulgar language of the



country. But under the successors of that prince, literature greatly declined; the Latin tongue became gradually corrupted; and before the end of the Merovingian dynasty it ceased to be the common language of France. It was succeeded by the Romance language, which was a mixture of the Frankish dialect with bad Latin, and this was the language of France in the reign of Charlemagne, and in those of his descendants; and indeed, with many and gradual variations, for several centuries afterwards. It was not until the reign of Lewis XIII. and the ministry of Cardinal Richelieu, that it began to be transmuted into the modern French by those refinements which have rendered it the language of general communication between princes and nobles of the different countries of Europe.

36. You cannot, my dear Sir, have forgotten the efforts of Charlemagne for the revival of learning in his dominions. But the state of things under his successors was unfavorable to the operation of means so well adapted to the end which he designed; and after the death of that celebrated monarch, the mists of ignorance, accompanying the evils of anarchy, set in as dense as before, and obscured literature, sciences, and civilization in the universal gloom. The president Henault, speaking of the period in which the Carlovingian dynasty ended, and Hugh Capet ascended the throne of France, says, "This was the age of ignorance: so profound it was, that scarcely did kings, princes, and lords, much less the common people, know how to read." And hence, in a great

measure, arose the influence which the clergy began to acquire in temporal affairs, as they were the only persons that had any knowledge of letters.

37. Arts and commerce were not in a more flourishing state than science and literature. It is not to be supposed, that any arts except those of necessity should be cultivated in so confused and turbulent a state of society: and it was impossible that commerce should raise its head, when the government and laws could afford so little protection either to persons or property. The people were therefore exceedingly poor as well as depressed. It is worthy of remark, that Charlemagne's conquest of Germany tended rather to the impoverishment than to the enriching of France, as the support of armies and garrisons, and the foundation of cities and bishoprics in a country which had no wealth of its own, must have caused an expenditure which could be supplied only from more opulent regions. The disorders which took place under the successors of that monarch, could not fail of increasing the national poverty. The repeated depredations of the Normans carried off a considerable portion of the wealth already amassed; and the almost total annihilation of agriculture and commerce in many parts of the country must have prevented any new accumulations. From these considerations it appears extremely probable, that in the reigns of the latter kings of the race of Charlemagne, France possessed a less portion of wealth than under the Merovingian dynasty.

38. You will now, my dear sir, endeavor to form in your mind a picture of the state of socie-

ty at the period under consideration: (an usurping nobility—an encroaching priesthood—the people without liberty or legal protection—the whole nation, excepting the clergy, illiterate—cities and towns ill built and unpaved—baronial castles of clumsy and ponderous architecture, without either elegance or conveniency, the seats of rapine, rebellion, and revelry—agriculture and commerce depressed—arts and sciences almost annihilated. These are the prominent features: imagination will easily fill up the outlines.)

39. But you will at the same time bear in mind that this picture of the state of things in the tenth century does not belong peculiarly to France: with the admission of some trifling shades of difference, it exhibits the condition of all the nations of Europe in those times of wretchedness and ignorance, excepting the Arabians of Spain, amongst whom, arts, sciences, letters, manufactures and commerce formed a striking contrast to the barbarism of their neighbours. While you peruse and examine these narratives and descriptions of a gloomy but yet interesting period, you will not forget that, with every wish for your health and happiness,

I am, dear sir,  
Your's &c.



## QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

- 1.—Who was the successor of Charlemagne?
- 2.—What was the great political error of Lewis the Debonnaire?
- 3.—
- 4.—What caused the first quarrel between Lewis and his sons?  
How did Lotharius, Pepin, and Lewis, treat their father?  
What dissolved their confederacy?
- 5.—How did the three brothers again treat their father?
- 6.—What was the cause of the third war between Lewis the Debonnaire and his sons?
- 7.—Where, and in what year, did Lewis the Debonnaire die?  
What was the character of his reign?
- 8.—What was the character of Lewis the Debonnaire?
- 9.—Who were his successors?  
In what year was the battle of Fontenay?  
Who were the contending parties in that conflict?  
How did the sons of Lewis the Debonnaire divide their dominions?
- 10.—
- 11.—In what year did the emperor Lotharius die?
- 12.—
- 13.—By what rivers did the Normans penetrate into France?
- 14.—In what year did Charles the Bald obtain the imperial crown?  
In what year and in what manner did he die?
- 15.—Who first rendered public offices and honors hereditary?  
What excuse may be pleaded for the weak conduct of Charles the Bald?
- 16.—Who succeeded Charles the Bald?
- 17.—
- 18.—In what year, and in whose reign did the Normans besiege Paris?  
How long did the siege continue?

- In what year did Charles the Fat die?
- 19.—Who succeeded Charles the Fat?
- 20.—In what manner did Eudes and Charles the Simple divide France?
- 21.—When was Charles the Simple left in possession of the whole kingdom of France?
- In what reign did the nobles and governors of provinces in France assume the sovereignty of their respective territories and governments?
- 22.—In what year did Rollo the Norman marry the daughter of Charles, and establish the dukedom of Normandy?
- 23.—What did the results of that transaction exhibit?  
What did Rollo become?
- 24.—In what year was the family of Charlemagne deprived of the imperial dignity?
- 25.—Where, and in what year, did Charles the Simple die?
- 26.—Who succeeded Charles the Simple?
- 27.—Who was Hugh the Great? What power did he possess?
- 28.—Of what description was the reign of Lewis the Transmarine?
- 29.—By whom was he succeeded?  
To what was the royal demesne reduced?  
What was the character of Lothaire?
- 30.—By whom was he succeeded?  
Who seized the throne?
- 31.—What gave the first blow to the regal power under the first and second race of kings?
- 32.—When did the power of the nobility attain to its greatest height?
- 33.—
- 34.—
- 35.—When did the Latin cease to be the common language of France?  
What was the Romance tongue?  
When was it the language of France?  
When did the French language receive its principal refinement?
- 36.—When did princes and nobles scarcely know how to read?

37.--Did the conquests of Charlemagne tend to enrich or to impoverish France?

38.---Describe the state of society in the tenth century.

39.---Does that description belong peculiarly to France?

## LETTER V.

*Comprising a period of seventy-three years, from  
A. D. 987, to A. D. 1060.*

| Kings of France. | Cotemporary kings of England.                                                                |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hugh Capet.      | Ethelred II.                                                                                 |
| Robert.          | Ethelred II.<br>Edmund Ironside.                                                             |
| Henry I.         | Canute the Great.<br>Harold I.<br>Hardycanute.<br>Edward the Confessor.<br>Canute the Great. |

DEAR SIR,

MY present communication will be confined within narrow limits, as it comprises a sort of isolated period in the history of France, exhibiting the establishment of a new dynasty upon the ruins of the family of Charlemagne; while the kingdom, which had been broken into fragments, began gradually to acquire something of form and consistence.



1. When Hugh Capet ascended the throne of France, A. D. 987, the kingdom consisted of a monstrous assemblage of members without any compact body, the last kings of the Carlovingian dynasty possessing no more than the two cities of Laon and Rheims, while several of the vassals of the crown, such as the dukes of Burgundy, Aquitaine, and Normandy, the counts of Flanders; Champagne, &c. held the sovereignty of extensive provinces.

2. This diminution of the regal power and authority was extremely favourable to the designs of Hugh Capet; but after he was seated on the throne the first maxim of his policy was to strengthen the royal prerogative, and to weaken the aristocracy; and similar views were adopted by all his successors. It must here be observed, that although no measures could be immediately taken for effecting this purpose, Hugh Capet, by uniting his large fief of Paris and its extensive territory to the crown greatly increased the power of the kings of France.

3. This prince, however, did not establish himself on the throne without the opposition of a rival. Charles, duke of Lorrain, the legitimate heir of the house of Charlemagne, resolved to assert his right to the throne. His first operations were successful: he made himself master of Laon, and defeated Hugh in a battle fought near that place. But Hugh having retaken Laon, Charles was made prisoner; and his death the following year 992, put an end to the contest. Hugh Capet, after passing the rest of his days in peace, died

A. D. 996, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

4. Robert, the son and successor of Hugh, is regarded by historians as one of the best princes that ever reigned over France. But his life was embittered by an unfortunate dispute with the papal see, which, during the contentions of Charlemagne's family, had acquired an exorbitant power. Having espoused Bertha, his kinswoman, without a dispensation from Rome, the pope, Gregory the Fifth; resolved to annul the marriage, and issued an imperious decree, commanding Robert to put away his wife, under the penalty of excommunication. The king refused to obey, and the sentence of excommunication was in consequence published. Robert soon saw the impression which the thunders of Rome had made on the minds of his subjects. He was abandoned by all his courtiers, and even the few domestics who staid to attend him, threw to the dogs all the victuals that were left at his table, and purified by fire the dishes, &c. in which they were served up, regarding as polluted and abominable every thing that had been touched by an excommunicated person. The king seeing himself an object of universal abhorrence, and apprehending a general revolt, was obligid to submit to the arbitrary decrees of papal tyranny, and to dismiss his consort. He afterwards espoused Constantia, daughter of the count of Provence, and spent the remainder of his days in peace. Robert died A. D. 1031, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. His disposition was humane, his man-

ners were affable, and he was esteemed a learned prince, considering the ignorance of that age.

5. Robert was succeeded by his son Henry I. the commencement of whose reign was disturbed by an unnatural rebellion; excited by his mother Constantia, who was desirous of placing his younger brother Robert on the throne; and the nefarious project was supported by the counts of Champagne and Flanders. In this emergency, Henry had recourse to Robert, Duke of Normandy, by whose aid he subdued the rebels. The king was not forgetful of this service. Robert dying in a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, A. D. 1035, was succeeded in the duchy of Normandy by his son William, who was afterwards king of England, and surnamed the Conqueror. But his right was contested by several competitors; descendants of the former dukes of Normandy; and Henry; in gratitude for the support which he had received from Robert, assisted young William in subduing his opponents. Henry had several contests with his vassals, all of whom he reduced to obedience. He died A. D. 1060, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the tenth of a prosperous but troublesome reign.

6. In reviewing this short period, which is certainly the least interesting that is found in the French annals, you will observe at least one remarkable circumstance: during the space of seventy three years, France was never engaged in a contest with any foreign power. The first French kings of the third race appear to have been almost solely employed in introducing order into the state,



by gradually and almost imperceptibly diminishing the power of the aristocracy.

7. In comparing the history of France with that of your own country, you will, my dear sir, make another important observation. You will perceive, that in England the power of the nobles never rose to so great a height as in France. The state of the people during the feudal ages was nearly the same in both countries, and indeed in almost all parts of Europe, poor, abject and oppressed; but in France the aristocracy was far more formidable to the crown than in England. I shall for the present conclude by promising you a longer and more interesting letter, presenting to your view a period marked by more brilliant transactions; in the meanwhile,

I remain, dear sir,

Your's, &c.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

- 1.--In what year did Hugh Capet ascend the throne?
- 2.--What was the first maxim of the policy of that prince and his successors?
- 3.--How long did Hugh Capet reign?
- 4.--How was king Robert treated by his domestics when under sentence of excommunication?
- 5.--Who excited a rebellion against Henry I?
- 6.--How long was France without a foreign war?
- 7.--What was the difference of power between the nobles of France and those of England?

## LETTER VI.

*Comprising a period of one hundred and sixty-three years, from A. D 1060 to 1223.*

| Kings of France.                  | Cotemporary Kings of England.                                                               |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Philip I.                         | Edward the Confessor.<br>Harold II.<br>William the Conqueror.<br>William Rufus.<br>Henry I. |
| Lewis VI.<br>surnamed the Gross.  | Henry I.<br>Stephen.                                                                        |
| Lewis VII.<br>surnamed the Young. | Stephen.<br>Henry II.                                                                       |
| Philip II.<br>surnamed Augustus.  | Henry III.<br>Richard I.<br>John.<br>Henry III.                                             |

DEAR SIR,

ACCORDING to my promise, I now take the opportunity of resuming our historical correspondence.

1. Philip I. succeeded his father Henry I. A. D. 1060; but being a minor only eight years of age, he was placed under the guardianship of Bald-

win, count of Flanders, who, although esteemed a man of strict honor and great political sagacity, was induced by views of family interest to adopt a measure extremely prejudicial to France. He supported the claim of his son-in-law, William, duke of Normandy, to the crown of England; and by permitting him to enlist soldiers in France and Flanders, contributed in no small degree to place him on the throne of that kingdom. Nothing could have been more contrary to the interests of France than this event, which rendered the vassal more powerful than his liege lord. From this time, the dukes of Normandy possessing the crown of England, and having at their disposal the whole force of that kingdom, were often an overmatch for the French monarchs, their paramount sovereigns.

2. The character of Philip I. makes no distinguished figure in the annals of royalty; but his reign is marked by an event which highly merits a place in the history of the human mind, as well as in that of France. This was the commencement of the Croisades, which exhibit so singular a display of religious and military enthusiasm, and form so conspicuous a trait in the picture of the middle ages.

3. These romantic expeditions, which, affording splendid themes to modern historians and poets, have been circumstantially related by Maimbourg and Michaud, and sung in the most eloquent strains by Tasso, originated from a propensity natural to the human mind, which contemplates with emotions of delight and veneration



any place that has been the residence of some celebrated personage, or the scene of some great transaction. The warrior views with enthusiasm the field where some memorable victory has been gained: the admirer of Homer's *Iliad* is enraptured in traversing the Troade, in tracing the courses of the Simois and the Scamander, and in viewing the Riphæan and Sigeon promontories, where the mortal remains of Hector and Achilles are supposed to be deposited.

Alexander the Great, as Plutarch informs us, placed a crown on the tomb of Achilles, and honored his memory by the performance of solemn rites. It is, therefore, easy to conceive the impulse by which Christians, ever since the age of Constantine, or perhaps of the apostles, were prompted to visit with peculiar veneration those places which had been consecrated to pious recollection by being the theatre of the actions and sufferings of the Redeemer. At a later period, when the corruptions of Christianity had introduced works of supererogation as compensations for crimes, pilgrimages to Jerusalem became more frequent and fashionable: princes, prelates, and noblemen, from various countries, crowded to visit the sepulchre of Christ, for the purpose of expiating their sins, and obtaining an increase of grace.

4. After Jerusalem had fallen under the power of the caliphs, those Mahommedan princes, justly considering the continual resort of such a number of persons of rank and distinction as a source of wealth to their dominions, encouraged those Christian pilgrimages; and under their enlightened go-

vernment, the pilgrims not only met with protection, but were treated with respect. But on the decline of the caliphate, the Turks, an uncivilized Tartar tribe, having become masters of Palestine, the Christians who visited Jerusalem were subjected to a variety of impositions and insults from their rapacity and barbarism. On this account the indignation of Europe was roused; and a grand expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidels was for some time in contemplation. At this juncture, a fanatical monk, a native of Amiens, and known by the name of Peter the Hermit, a man of a daring and ardent mind, contributed in no small degree to blow up the flame of enthusiasm, which was already kindling in Christendom. Having made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he was deeply affected by the distresses and dangers to which Christians were exposed in performing that act of piety; and on his return he ran from province to province, with a crucifix in his hand, exhorting princes, nobles, and people to engage in the holy enterprise of recovering the sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the infidels.

5. The zeal and enthusiasm of Christendom being thus roused by various incidents, a council was convoked at Clermont A. D. 1095, under the pontificate of Urban II. and almost all the great nobles as well as the prelates attended. Here the Croisade was resolved on, and the leaders were chosen. Godfrey de Bouillon was appointed commander-in-chief: Hugh, the king's brother; Robert duke of Normandy, brother of William Rufus, king of England; Raymond, count of Toulouse;

Baldwin, count of Flanders; Stephen, count of Boulogne, father of Stephen, king of England; Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, and many others of high rank, joined in the enterprise. Persons of every description flew to arms with an enthusiastic ardor; the nobles with their martial followers; ecclesiastics of every order, and vagabonds and desperadoes from every part of Christendom, were eager to engage in an expedition which they considered as a propitiation for every crime, and by which they expected to acquire wealth and honor in this world, if they succeeded, or if they fell in the enterprise to receive a crown of glory in the world to come: an alternative flattering to avarice, ambition, and devotion.

6. Incredible numbers having flocked to the standard of the cross, an undisciplined and disorderly multitude, consisting of near 300,000 men, under the conduct of Peter the Hermit, set out for Constantinople, by the road of Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria. These banditti being unprovided with the means of subsistence in their long march, were under the necessity of pillaging the countries in the line of their route; and the sacred cause in which they were engaged, was in their eyes, sufficient to sanctify every crime. But the victims of their rapacity were of a different opinion. The people every where flew to arms to defend their property; and almost exterminated this numerous horde of depredators. Peter, with about twenty thousand of these fanatics, at length reached Constantinople, where he was joined by other bands of German and Italian desperadoes,



who abandoned themselves to every kind of licentiousness and disorder. The Eastern emperor, Alexius Comenus, made the greatest possible haste to get rid of these troublesome visitors, by furnishing them with boats for passing the Bosphorus. This disorderly crowd, advancing into Asia, was attacked by the sultan of Nice, and almost exterminated; but their conductor, Peter the Hermit, escaped from the slaughter, and found his way back to Constantinople.

7. At length, in the year 1097, the regular armies of the croisaders arrived at the capital of the Eastern empire, in such numbers, as although they have undoubtedly been much exaggerated by some historians, were sufficiently great to authorise the elegant expression of the princess Anna Commena in her "Alexiad," "Europe seemed to be loosened from its foundations, and to precipitate itself upon Asia." The Greek emperor, astonished and alarmed by the presence of such an overwhelming inundation of foreign warriors, endeavored to conciliate them by presents and promises; and at last got rid of these unwelcome guests, as he had done of the former, by supplying them with provisions, and facilitating, as speedily as possible, their passage across the Bosphorus.

8. The croisaders, advancing into Asia, took Nice, after repeatedly defeating the sultan. They then proceeded to Antioch, and made themselves masters of that city, after a desperate siege. The champions of the cross, although epidemical diseases, produced by intemperance, in conjunction

with the influence of a new climate, had greatly diminished their numbers, advanced at last to Jerusalem, the grand object of their enterprise. After a murderous siege of five weeks, the holy city was taken by assault on Good Friday, A.D. 1099; the garrison and the inhabitants were indiscriminately put to the sword; and more than seventy thousand Mahommedans are said to have perished in this horrible massacre. The streets of Jerusalem were covered with heaps of slain, and streamed with torrents of blood, when these ferocious warriors, laying aside their ensanguined arms, proceeded, barefoot and on their bended knees, to the sepulchre of the Redeemer, and, after glutting their fury with the blood of their fellow mortals, sung anthems of joy and thanksgiving to the God of mercy and peace. Such is the power of fanaticism in perverting the influence of religion and stifling the feelings of humanity!!! In consequence of this success, Godfrey Bouillon was elected king of Jerusalem: Bohemond had already been created prince of Antioch; and several of the other leaders obtained splendid settlements in Asia.

9. While the French croisaders were displaying their romantic valor in Syria, their country presented at home a chaos of confusion, in which no trait of grandeur could be distinguished.—Philip I. having repudiated his queen, and married the countess of Anjou, whom he had seduced from her husband, was excommunicated by pope Urban II; and the thunders of the church, together with his own indolence, entirely ruined his

authority. The nobles insulted him daily, and plundered the subjects of his domain, which consisted only of the dukedom of France, comprising the city of Paris, with a few other towns and their adjacent territories: all the rest of the kingdom was held by the vassals of the crown, who acted as sovereigns in their respective districts, and by their turbulence had almost reduced France to a state of anarchy similar to that which it had exhibited under the last kings of the Carlovingian dynasty.

10. In order to remedy these evils, the king associated his son Lewis to the regal dignity; and the vigour and activity of the young prince, by curbing the turbulence of the nobles, restored something of order to the state. But Philip I. committed one irretrievable error—that of not supporting Robert, duke of Normandy, against his brother Henry I. king of England. By suffering that prince to be crushed at the battle of Tinchebray, he lost the opportunity of keeping the duchy of Normandy separate from the crown of England, an object of the greatest importance to France. Philip died A. D. 1108, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the forty-ninth of an inglorious reign.

11. His son and successor, Lewis VI. surnamed the Gross, ascended the throne at thirty years of age. The first part of his reign was agitated by contests with his vassals whom he at length, although not without difficulty, reduced to obedience.

12. Before the conquest of England by William, duke of Normandy, A. D. 1066, that king-



dom had never come into hostile contact with France. But soon after that event the first wars between the French and English commenced—an inevitable consequence of the union of England and Normandy under one sovereign. For some time, however, these contests were of little importance: and it was not until the reign of Lewis the Gross that they began to assume a more serious aspect. That prince engaged in three different wars with Henry I. of England; but all of them ended to his disadvantage. Desirous of repairing the damage which his father's bad policy had brought, and was still likely to bring upon France, he undertook to separate Normandy from England, by restoring William, the son of duke Robert, to the possession of that duchy. But it was now too late. Henry was grown too powerful to suffer Normandy to be wrested out of his hands.

13. The reign of Lewis the Gross, however, was on the whole beneficial to France. By enfranchising many villains or bondmen, and by gradually diminishing the authority of the seignioral jurisdictions, he began to depress the exorbitant power of the nobles, and set an example of extending the royal prerogative, and ameliorating the condition of the people; which was invariably followed by all his successors. This prince died A. D. 1137, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the twenty-ninth of his reign.

14. His son and successor, Lewis VII, surnamed the Young, was only eighteen at his accession. The nobles, whose pride had been humbled by his predecessor, took advantage of the youth of

this prince, and made many attempts to recover their power and authority. During these contests between the crown and the aristocracy, Lewis, in order to be revenged of Thibaud, count of Champagne, the most rebellious of his vassals, destroyed the town of Vitri by fire, and put all to the sword. Thus, if we examine the annals of all nations and all ages, we shall find that the people are the chief sufferers by the contentions of the great; and are commonly sacrificed to their ambition and resentment.

15. Conscience, however, will, at one time or other, make kings and conquerors listen to its reproaches. Lewis was struck with remorse for this barbarous massacre, and, by the advice of St. Bernard, resolved to undertake a croisade, in order to expiate his crime. This measure was strongly opposed by Segur, abbot of St. Denis, who endeavoured to persuade the king that the best way of atoning for his sins, was to stay at home and govern well his dominions. But the counsels of St. Bernard were always received as inspirations from Heaven, and indeed his transcendant eloquence appears to have been irresistible. "It was," says the president Henault, "the peculiar talent of this extraordinary man to sway the human mind with an irresistible power. Conforming himself with admirable facility to every variety of scenes and circumstances, one moment concealing himself in the recesses of his solitude, and the next shining amidst the splendour of a court, he never was out of his place; and although only a poor monk of Clairvaux, without any title or public character,

he derived from his personal talents a degree of power superior to all regular authority." The same writer has also drawn the following portrait of the abbot Segur. "He was a man of low extraction and of mean appearance; but the qualities of his mind compensated the defects of birth and exterior. The church has not given him a place in her calendar; but his name will be immortal in history. From the humble condition of a private monk, his virtues and abilities raised him to the rank of abbot of St. Denis, and principal minister of state. In his abbey, was conducted the business of the court and the army; the cloister was frequently crowded with soldiers, and resounded with the debates of courtiers and lawyers." In contrasting the characters of these two celebrated men, illustrious ornaments of a dark and ignorant age, it appears that the abbot Segur was greatly superior in sound judgment and political sagacity; but St. Bernard possessed an irresistible eloquence, together with all the learning of the times. The former was regarded as a consummate statesman: the latter was regarded as a saint, and consulted as an oracle.

16. With such a reputation, and such extraordinary powers of elocution, joined to a daring and ardent enthusiasm, Bernard found it no difficult task to excite the king to undertake a croisade, especially as these romantic expeditions were perfectly in unison with the spirit of the times. His enthusiastic eloquence produced the same effects in Germany as in France. The emperor, Conrad III. with an incredible number of persons of all ranks,



took the cross A. D. 1147, and led a formidable army into Asia, and the king of France soon after followed with a force of eighty thousand men. Had these armies been conducted with prudence and acted in concert, their numbers were sufficient to have secured success. But the same excesses which had disgraced the first croisade were repeated in the second, and the want of union as well as of judgment in their plans and operations totally frustrated the enterprise. Conrad having first crossed the Bosphorus, penetrated into the middle of Asia Minor, where the greatest part of his army was cut to pieces in the defiles of the mountains. Lewis fell into the same snare the following year; and thus by a series of misconduct these formidable armaments were almost annihilated. The French monarch as well as the emperor returned with the shattered remains of a once powerful force; and a number of families poured out their invectives against St. Bernard, whose seductive eloquence and delusive prophecies, promising them not only the pardon of their sins, but also victory over the infidels; had induced them to engage in this disastrous enterprise. But that accomplished orator and acute logician dexterously cleared himself of the charge of falsehood or error, by declaring that the immorality and misconduct of the croisaders had occasioned their misfortunes, as the sins of the Israelites retarded their entrance into the promised land, and doomed a whole generation to die in the wilderness. St. Bernard certainly was not far wrong in his assertion; but while he assumed the character of a prophet, ought he not

to have foreseen this mismanagement and its disastrous results?

17. This unsuccessful croisade gave rise to a circumstance of a domestic nature, which proved a source of uneasiness to Lewis and of injury to his kingdom. His queen Eleanor had accompanied him in his expedition; and it appears, that amidst the horrors of war, she had not been insensible to the pleasures of love. Lewis strongly suspected her of an amorous intrigue with the prince of Antioch, and also with a young Turk named Saladin. In consequence of this suspicion, he obtained a divorce, and Eleanor being left in possession of the provinces of Poictou and Guienne, which were her patrimony, was soon after married to Henry, duke of Normandy, count of Anjou and Maine, and heir to the crown of England, to which he afterwards succeeded by the name of Henry II. This accession of territory gave to England a decided superiority over France.

18. Notwithstanding the ill success which Lewis had experienced, he meditated another croisade. But his subjects, grown wiser than himself, were tired of croisading; and when he intimated his intention, he found them so averse to any thing of the kind, that he was obliged to relinquish his project. This prince had several wars with Henry II. of England, which produced no important results. The southern provinces of France were during a great part of his reign, a theatre of private wars amongst the powerful nobles, such as the counts of Toulouse, Provence, Montpellier, Narbonne, Carcassonne, &c. who, although vas-

sals of the crown, paid little regard to the authority of the king. Lewis the Young, died A. D. 1180, in the sixty-second year of his age and forty-fourth of his reign, which was far from being beneficial to France. / In regard to his character he possessed a great portion of courage, but was often deficient in policy: his religious ideas were somewhat fanatical, and he had an unconquerable propensity to croisades and pilgrimages. / When his subjects would not second his zeal for another Asiatic expedition, he endeavoured to gratify his taste by a devotional visit to the shrine of St. James of Compostella; and in the last year of his life he made another to the tomb of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

19. His son and successor, Philip Augustus, was one of the most politic and prosperous princes that ever swayed the sceptre of France. At his accession, that kingdom possessed but little political importance. / The kings of France were little more than sovereigns of Paris. / The king of England was in possession of Normandy, Bretagne, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Poictou, Saintonge, Angoumois, Limousin, Auvergne, Perigord and Guienne, / constituting almost the half of France: the rest of the provinces were divided amongst a number of powerful vassals, over whom the king held only a nominal sovereignty. In consequence of the annexation of Normandy to the crown of England, France was almost as much dismembered and depressed as under the successors of Clovis and Charlemagne.

20. / Philip Augustus began his reign by reducing to obedience the turbulent nobles, who being



constantly at war amongst themselves, were unable to make an effectual resistance to his operations, which were planned with prudence, and executed with promptitude and vigour. He next displayed his policy in supporting the sons of Henry II. in their repeated rebellions against their father, by which he counterbalanced the power of that prince in France. He afterwards undertook in concert with Richard I. the croisade so famous in English history.

21. Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, having been defeated at the battle of Tiberiad, A. D. 1187; this misfortune was followed by the loss of his capital, which was obliged to surrender to the infidels. The calamitous state of the Christians in the East, roused the zeal and ambition of the princes of Europe, to undertake another grand expedition for the recovery of the holy city and the emperor Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, set the example, and led an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men into Asia; but this monarch was unfortunately drowned in crossing the Cydnus, the river in which Alexander the Great had like to have lost his life by bathing.

22. This catastrophe of the emperor did not restrain the ardour of the kings of England and France: their zeal was prompted by the spirit of chivalry and a thirst for military glory, which indeed appears to have been the chief motives that induced them to attempt the conquest of Jerusalem. In the year 1191, the two monarchs undertook their grand expedition; but their mutual jealousies and distrusts prevented the attainment of

its object. Philip and Richard mutually accused each other of being the cause of its failure; and the contradictory relations of the French and English historians tend rather to obscure than to illustrate the matter.

23. Philip being obliged by an ill state of health to return to France, ungenerously seized on part of the province of Normandy in the absence of Richard, whom he had left in Palestine. The splendid exploits of Richard and his subsequent misfortunes, are well known themes in English history. On being restored to his kingdom, he turned his arms against Philip but the war between these two monarchs was not productive of any important results.

24. The disastrous reign of John, the successor of Richard, was extremely conducive to the aggrandisement of Philip Augustus, who, seizing so favourable an opportunity, conquered all the English dominions on the continent, except the province of Guienne, and annexed them to the crown of France.

25. About this time was undertaken the fourth croisade, which constitutes a brilliant episode in the history of France. Boniface of Montserrat had the chief command; and Baldwin, count of Flanders, Eudes, duke of Burgundy, with several others of the French nobility, joined in the expedition. While these adventurers were at Venice, waiting till the ships, which they borrowed to convey them to Asia, were ready to sail, a revolution which had taken place at Constantinople, induced them to alter their destination, and proceed

to the capital of the East instead of Jerusalem. The Greek emperor Isaac Angelus had been deposed, and deprived of sight, by his brother Alexius, who had placed himself on the imperial throne. In consequence of this horrible and distressing circumstance, the young Alexius, son of the dethroned emperor, Isaac Angelus having repaired to Venice, implored the aid of the French croissaders and the Venetian fleet against the usurper his uncle, seconding his solicitations with the most magnificent promises. The French and Venetians therefore set sail for Constantinople, A. D. 1204, and soon after their arrival took the city by storm. Isaac Angelus was restored, but died soon after; and his son, the young Alexius ascended the imperial throne.

26. The croisaders now withdrew into cantonments, expecting that the new emperor would fulfil the stipulations of the treaty concluded previous to their departure from Venice. This, however, he was unable to perform. The French having been guilty of great excesses at the capture of Constantinople, the Greeks conceived an aversion against Alexius who had invited them into the country; and as soon as the foreigners had left the city, the inhabitants broke out into open revolt. Alexius Ducas, surnamed Murziphilus, from his large eye brows, a person of low extraction, but who had found means to raise himself to an elevated station, appeared at the head of the rebels, and having seized the emperor and put him to death, placed himself on the throne. In consequence of this usurpation, the French army laid siege a se-



cond time to Constantinople, and carried the city by assault, although the Greeks made a most determined resistance. On this occasion Henry Dondolo, duke or doge of Venice, signalized his courage in a very extraordinary manner. Although about ninety years of age and entirely blind, he caused himself to be led to the assault at the head of a body of Venetian troops, and was one of the first that ascended the rampart. The plunder obtained by the croisaders at the sack of Constantinople exceeded in value that of any other city captured either before or since that time, except perhaps that of Delhi by Nadir Shah, A. D. 1739, and every individual of their army made his fortune.

27. The French and Venetians elected Baldwin, count of Flanders, emperor of the East, on the second Sunday after Easter, A. D. 1204; and laying aside all thoughts of the holy land, turned their whole attention to the preservation of their splendid conquest. Almost the whole empire submitted, and was parcelled out by the French into military fiefs, resembling those of their own country: most of the islands, and some of the sea ports, were assigned to the Venetians. About fifty years afterwards the Greeks recovered Constantinople and expelled the Latins; but their empire never recovered its former power, nor the imperial city its former wealth and splendour.

28. Philip Augustus derived no benefit from conquest achieved by his subjects; but he projected other schemes of aggrandizement. His views were not limited to the extinction of the

English power in France. In consequence of king John being excommunicated by the pope, and his kingdom being given to any prince that could seize it, Philip resolved to attempt the conquest of England, and made vast preparations for that great enterprise. The submission of John to the holy see, induced the pope to lay his injunctions on Philip to desist from his undertaking. But the French monarch was not to be easily deterred or dissuaded from the execution of a project so conformable to his views of aggrandizement. His fleet, however, had no sooner sailed from the mouth of the Seine, than it was defeated and almost entirely destroyed by the English.

29. This loss was soon compensated by the most brilliant successes. Philip seized the territories of the count of Flanders, who was favorable to England; and, at the battle of Bovines, A. D. 1214, he gained with an army of fifty thousand men a decisive victory over the combined forces of the emperor Otho and his allies, consisting of more than three times that number. The courage and conduct which Philip displayed in that battle procured him a high reputation as a military commander, and his victory gave to France complete security on the side of Germany.

30. The destruction of his fleet, rather than any dread of the papal authority, had caused Philip Augustus to desist from his enterprise against England. The distracted state of that kingdom, however, soon afforded an opportunity of resuming his project. The barons having revolted against king John, offered the crown to Lewis, the son of

the French monarch; and Philip, resolving to avail himself of so favourable a circumstance, sent Lewis with a strong force into England. The French prince met with a cordial reception, and was proclaimed king at London. The sentence of excommunication was issued against him by the pope; but Lewis was as little terrified at the thunders of Rome as his father, and resolved to persist in his enterprise. His affairs continued to prosper, and he was master of nearly the whole kingdom when John died, A. D. 1216, his constitution being broken by a series of troubles and misfortunes. The resentment of the English against that monarch was extinguished by his death, and the greater part of the barons declared in favour of his son, Henry III. The scales were now turned against Lewis: that prince was besieged in London, and having obtained an honourable capitulation, was obliged to depart from England. This was the last important transaction in the reign of Philip Augustus. That monarch died A. D. 1223, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of a prosperous and glorious reign.

31. The character of Philip Augustus exhibits a mixture of splendid qualities and great vices. Prudent and artful, ambitious, valiant, and enterprising, he possessed all the qualifications requisite for the cabinet or the camp; but he was intriguing, treacherous, and unconscientious. He was the greatest political genius of his age, but he was never scrupulous concerning the means that he used for the attainment of his objects. It must however be acknowledged that he raised his king-



dom from a state of extreme depression to great power and importance. In fine, he was the most successful and fortunate prince that had swayed the sceptre of France since the reign of Charlemagne.

32. You have now, my dear sir, arrived at a brilliant epoch in the history of France: and amidst the transactions of politics and war, you will contemplate with delight some small progress in literature, sciences, and arts. During the period now submitted to your consideration, especially the two last reigns of Lewis the Young, and Philip Augustus, that dense cloud of ignorance and barbarism which had so long overshadowed France, as well as the other countries of Europe, began to disperse.

33. The croisades, those romantic expeditions, of which the recollection astonishes the modern world, contributed in no small degree to the civilization of the western countries of Europe. The croisaders, in their way to Asia, had the opportunity of viewing Italy and the Eastern empire, countries far superior to their own in arts, sciences, and magnificence. The French could not fail of observing that the Italians were a more polished people than themselves, and the view of Constantinople struck them with astonishment. That metropolis of the Greek empire was then the chief seat of all that was splendid and superb in the world, and formed a striking contrast with the dirty and ill-built cities of France, England and Germany. The Saracens of Asia were also a far more polished people than the western Europeans, and possessed many arts of which the latter were

ignorant. It was impossible that the croisaders should see all these things, and not bring some of the arts of Constantinople and Asia into their own countries. The western nations became acquainted with the manufacture and arts of the East; the sphere of European knowledge was enlarged, and commerce extended. Soon after the commencement of the croisades more splendour was seen in courts, greater magnificence in buildings, more convenience and elegance in cities, and more politeness in manners; and as France had the principal concern in those expeditions, that country derived from them the first and greatest advantages in regard to the arts and sciences: architecture, painting, and sculpture, began to emerge from oblivion. The cathedral of "Notre Dame" at Paris, was rebuilt by Maurice de Sully, one of the greatest architects of that age: the great altar was finished in the year 1182, the second of Philip Augustus; and about the same time many other ecclesiastical edifices were erected in a style of Gothic magnificence. In the same reign or in that of Lewis the Young, the streets of Paris first began to be paved; and that city was not only embellished, but also considerably enlarged.

34. Literature and science generally accompany the arts; for when the human mind has once cast off its fetters, genius diffuses its radiance in various directions. The university of Paris is generally said to have been founded by Charlemagne, but this opinion is not supported by the evidence of any cotemporary writer. It is certain, however, that Charlemagne established a school in that

city, which gradually became famous for the learned men it produced. But the best French historians refer the origin of the university to the time of Lewis the Young, a period in which Abelard, Peter Lombard, St. Bernard, and Segur, abbot of St. Denis, shone forth like meteors through the gloom of an ignorant age. Paris, however, became towards the end of the reign of Lewis the Young, a celebrated seat of learning, being frequented by crowds of youth from all parts of Europe. In the reign of Philip Augustus, and several of his successors, the students in the university equalled in number all the rest of the inhabitants of Paris, and composed a formidable body in cases of tumult and insurrection.

35. Besides the introduction of arts, and the advancement of knowledge, the croisades produced another beneficial effect in France. Many of the nobles sold or mortgaged their lands in order to equip themselves for these expeditions; and the kings, or the dignified ecclesiastics, were generally the mortgagees or the purchasers. Numbers also of the turbulent vassals fell in those wars; and many noble families becoming extinct, their fiefs reverted to the crown. Several cities and towns, by advancing money to their lords, purchased privileges and immunities which greatly extended their liberties, and contributed to their future prosperity. By these means, the importance of the commons, as well as the power of the crown was increased; and the feudal system, the worst of all species of civil economy, was considerably weakened.



You will, my dear sir, undoubtedly regard these fanatical expeditions as contrary to the dictates of religion, humanity, and reason. But they were in unison with the spirit of the times, and public opinion and feeling are subject to endless revolutions.

In those times, no one wondered at what now excites our astonishment. When we ridicule the ideas and views of former ages, let us bear in mind that future generations may regard some of ours as not less absurd. And when we condemn the croisades, let us seriously and impartially consider whether many of the wars of modern Europe have originated from better motives, or been productive of more beneficial effects. But in reviewing these romantic enterprises, another and most important consideration will force itself on your mind: you will readily perceive that the Divine Being who governs the world, from evil educes good, and renders the follies of men subservient to the designs of his inscrutable wisdom. I shall leave you amidst these interesting reflections, while I prepare for another communication: in the mean while be assured, that with the most ardent desire for your instruction,

I am, dear sir,

Your's &c.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

- 1.—By whose permission did William, duke of Normandy enlist soldiers in France and Flanders?
- 2.—In what reign did the Croisades commence?

- 3.--
- 4.—How were pilgrims treated by the caliphs?  
How were they treated by the Turks?  
Who contributed to promote the Croisades?
- 5.—Who was general of the first Croisade?
- 6.—Who led the first body of the Croisaders?
- 7.—Who was emperor of the East at that time?
- 8.—When was Jerusalem taken?  
Who was elected king of Jerusalem?
- 9.--
- 10.—What was the great error of Philip I?
- 11.--
- 12.—When did the wars between England and France begin?
- 13.—What king of France began to repress the disobedience of the nobles?
- 14.--
- 15.—What was the character of St. Bernard?  
What was the character of Segur, abbot of St. Denis?  
What was the contrast between St. Bernard and the abbot?
- 16.—Who prompted Lewis VIII. to undertake a Croisade?
- 17.--
- 18.—What was the character of Lewis VII?
- 19.—What were the kings of France at the accession of Philip Augustus?  
What provinces of France were in the hands of the king of England?
- 20.—How did Philip Augustus begin his reign?
- 21.—What was the cause of another Croisade?
- 22.—In what year did Philip Augustus, and Richard I. king of England, set out on the Croisade?
- 23.--
- 24.—Who conquered most of the English provinces in France?
- 25.—In what year was Constantinople taken by the French and Venetians?
- 26.—What was the reason of Constantinople being taken a second time?

What cities afforded a richer pillage than any other mentioned in history?

27.--Who was elected emperor of the East?

28.--

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29.--Who gained the victory of Bovines?

30.--What French prince was proclaimed king of England at London?

31.--What was the character of Philip Augustus?

32.--When did France begin to emerge from a state of ignorance?

33.--What occurrences contributed to the civilization of western Europe?

In what year was the great altar in the Cathedral Notre Dame finished?

34.--When is the university of Paris supposed to have been founded?

35.--What benefits accrued to the kings and the people from the Croisades?



## LETTER VII.

*Comprising a period of one hundred and five years,  
from A. D. 1223 to A. D. 1328.*

| Kings of France.                                                   | Contemporary kings of England. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Lewis VIII.                                                        | Henry III.                     |
| Lewis IX. called St.<br>Lewis.                                     | Henry III.                     |
| Philip III. surnamed<br>the Hardy.                                 | Henry III.<br>Edward I.        |
| Philip IV. surnamed<br>the Fair.                                   | Edward I.<br>Edward II.        |
| Lewis X. surnamed<br>Hutin.                                        | Edward II.                     |
| Philip V. surnamed the<br>Long, from the height<br>of his stature. | Edward II.                     |
| Charles IV. surnamed<br>the Fair.                                  | Edward II.<br>Edward III.      |

DEAR SIR,

ASSURING myself that you have pondered well in your mind the reflections with which I concluded my last letter, I again take up my pen

to give you some further information respecting the history of France.

1. Philip Augustus was succeeded by his son, Lewis VIII, who ascended the throne at the age of thirty-six. His short reign was not marked by any great event; but he distinguished its commencement by enfranchising a great number of villains, in conformity to the maxims of his predecessors. This prince died A. D. 1226, in the fortieth year of his age, having completed the third of his reign, in which he shewed himself a friend to popular liberty.

2. He was succeeded by his son Lewis IX. who is commonly distinguished by the name of St. Lewis. This prince, being only twelve years of age, was under the guardianship of Blanche, his mother; and the whole time of his minority was employed in subduing the rebellious nobles, who had taken arms against the queen regent. Blanche, however, by a prudent and vigorous administration, reduced the malcontents to obedience; and Lewis, on receiving the reigns of government, found himself possessed of an authority not inferior to that of his predecessors. During his reign, he had often to contend with his vassals, as well as with Henry III. of England, but these contests generally terminated to his advantage.

3. The most remarkable events of the reign of St. Lewis, were his two Croisades against the Mahommedans of Egypt and Tunis. In the first of these, which took place A. D. 1248, he was accompanied by his three brothers, the counts of Artois, Poictiers, and Anjou, the duke of Bur-

gundy, the counts of Flanders, St. Paul, and Larmarche, with many other lords. His first operations were crowned with success. He made himself master of Damietta, and on several occasions, both he and his troops performed prodigies of valour. But his successes were followed by a dreadful reverse: the French army was reduced by famine and sickness to the greatest distress, and the king and his nobles were made prisoners. In consequence of this disaster, he was obliged to pay an enormous sum for his ransom, to restore Damietta, and evacuate Egypt. He afterwards proceeded to Palestine, and repaired the fortifications of Cæsarea, Sidon, Acre, and Joppa; and his disastrous expedition was productive of some beneficial effects, as he obtained by various negotiations the liberty of more than twelve thousand Christian captives.

4. The Croisade which St. Lewis undertook against Tunis, A. D. 1269, terminated still more disastrously than that of Egypt. Having landed on the African coast with an army of sixty thousand men, the plague broke out in his camp; and after seeing one of his sons expire, the king himself died of that malady. After his death, which happened A. D. 1270, his son and successor, Philip the Hardy, having defeated the infidels, concluded a treaty of peace with the king of Tunis, and thus saved the shattered remains of the French army. This was the sixth and last of those wild expeditions, which, during a period of a hundred and seventy-four years, had at different intervals agitated Europe and Asia.



5. St. Lewis is one of the most extraordinary characters that is found in the annals of royalty. Devout in the closet, and intrepid in the field, he united the narrow prejudices of the monk with the magnanimity of the hero. In the administration of justice he was strict and inflexible; and in the camp he maintained the most rigid discipline. He curbed the turbulence of the ambitious nobles; and notwithstanding his piety and attachment to religion, he firmly opposed the encroachments which popes and prelates were inclined to make on the royal authority. But while his government of the kingdom was characterized by such vigorous measures, he made a quite different appearance in his domestic economy. His servants were his masters, and his time was spent in the most scrupulous and rigid practices of devotion. His soul was fired only by great objects, and he disdained to bestow his attention on what he regarded as trifles. His only fault was a fanatical zeal for religion which prompted him to butcher mankind for the glory of God. His prudence was equal to his courage: he enacted many good laws, and had not his rage for croisading led him to extravagant projects, France would have flourished greatly under his government. But the virtues of St. Lewis were his own: his errors were those of the times; and his name is held in veneration by every Frenchman.

6. This prince was succeeded by his son Philip III. surnamed the Hardy, on account of the intrepidity which he displayed before Tunis after the death of his father. After his return to France,

his reign was not marked by any great event, being chiefly spent in humbling the refractory nobles in the southern provinces, and in unimportant wars with the kings of Castile and Arragon.— Philip the Hardy died A. D. 1285, in the forty-first year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign.

7. He was succeeded by his son Philip IV. surnamed the Fair, who ascended the throne at the age of seventeen, and was also crowned king of Navarre in right of his wife. Philip had a bloody contest with his vassal the count of Flanders, whom he at length reduced to obedience, and some wars with Edward I. king of England, which produced no important results.

8. The reign of Philip the Fair, however, is distinguished by events which produced a great change in the civil and political condition of the French nation. The chief of these was the admission of the commons or third estate into the general assemblies of the nation, a custom which, although it had existed among the ancient Franks, had been laid aside from time immemorial. A quarrel between Philip and the pope Boniface VIII. led to this restoration of the rights of the commons. The pope demanded a share of the tenths which Philip had levied on the clergy. The French monarch, who was very needy, but not less haughty than his holiness, answered the demand by a direct refusal. The pope exasperated at this opposition to his claim, excommunicated the king, and laid the whole kingdom under an interdict. Philip being now placed in a dangerous situation judiciously considered an appeal to the

nation as the best means of preventing the effects of papal resentment. He accordingly convened a general assembly of the three estates of the kingdom—nobility, clergy and commons. This transaction, which took place A. D. 1303, appears to be the first instance of the representatives of boroughs in France, being summoned to the national assemblies. Philip had the satisfaction of seeing the expedient succeed according to his wishes. The states disavowed the papal claims, and acknowledged the independent rights of their king. Boniface VIII. dying soon after, was succeeded by Benedict XI. a man of great prudence and virtue, who annulled the sentence of excommunication and interdict issued by his predecessor against the king and kingdom of France.

9. It may here not be amiss to observe that about five years afterwards, viz. A. D. 1308, Clement V. a Frenchman, removed the seat of the papacy from Rome to Avignon, where it continued till A. D. 1376, a period of sixty-eight years.

10. The reign of Philip the Fair, and the pontificate of Clement V. were disgraced by a most iniquitous transaction—the suppression of the knights templars. That religious and military order, which was established during the first fervor of the Croisades, had, from its services, and the spirit of the times, acquired ample possessions in most Christian countries, and particularly in France. But the mania of croisading had now subsided; and the templars enjoyed, amidst splendour and luxury, that wealth which the enthusiastic zeal of princes and nobles had bestowed on the order as



the recompense of merit. Their riches indeed appear to have been the real cause of their misfortunes. Some of them were accused of being concerned in a seditious tumult which happened at Paris, and under this pretext, Philip, with the concurrence of the pope, resolved to involve the whole order in one undistinguished ruin, and to seize its enormous wealth. All the knights templars throughout France were arrested on the same day. They were charged with robbery, murder, idolatry, and all the vices most shocking to human nature. The absurdity and improbability of the crimes were sufficient to destroy the credit of the accusations. The unfortunate sufferers stand acquitted in the judgment of impartial posterity; and the dramatic pen of M. de Renouard, has made their dreadful catastrophe an interesting subject of modern tragedy. Absurd as the charges against them appear, great numbers of the knights were put to the rack; some with unparalleled fortitude expired under the torture: from others of less firmness of mind, confessions were extorted. The possessions and treasures of the whole order were confiscated; and many of the knights were burned alive in different parts of the kingdom. At Paris the grand master and another of their chief officers being conducted to a scaffold, erected before the cathedral church of Notre Dame, in view of the fire designed for their execution, a full pardon was promised them on the condition of acknowledging their guilt. But those brave men, rejecting the disgraceful offer, perished in the flames, persisting with inflexible constancy in protestations of their

own innocence and that of their order. Some historians relate, that those illustrious victims of avarice and cruelty summoned the pope and the king to appear on a certain day before the Divine tribunal, and that both of them died within the time fixed by the summons. It is not improbable that the death of those princes which happened soon after, might give rise to the story. An enlightened mind can give but little credit to tales of miracles and predictions; but it is certain, that within less than two years after the destruction of the knights templars, both Philip and clement were cited before that tribunal, where this horrible affair would be impartially investigated. Philip fell into a lingering disorder, of which he died on the 29th of November, A. D. 1314, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. The suppression of the knights templars became general throughout Europe, but was nowhere attended with such circumstances of cruelty as in France.

11. This iniquitous transaction suffices to develop the unconscientious character of Philip the Fair. His reign, however, was favourable to the interests of the commons of France. Besides giving them a place in the national assemblies, he granted letters of ennoblement to many of that order; a practice of which the first instance is met with in the reign of his father, Philip the Hardy, and which contributed to raise the commons nearer to a level with the nobility.

12. Philip the Fair was succeeded by his son Lewis X. who ascended the throne at the age of

twenty-three or twenty-five; for historians disagree on that subject. This prince died A. D. 1316, and his short reign of two years presents nothing interesting.

13. From the accession of Hugh Capet to the demise of Lewis X. comprising a period of three hundred and twenty-nine years, the crown of France had descended regularly from father to son, a case of not very common occurrence in history. But the death of the last mentioned prince without issue male occasioned a dispute concerning the succession. Philip the Long, and Jane, queen of Navarre preferred their claims to the crown, the former as the brother, the latter as the daughter and heiress of the late king. The states general of the kingdom being convened, the matter was debated; and it was finally concluded that females could not inherit the crown of France. In consequence of this decision Philip V. from the height of his stature, surnamed the Long, ascended the throne; but his reign of five years is not marked by any important event.

14. Philip the Long, died A. D. 1322, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and leaving no male issue, was succeeded by his brother Charles IV. surnamed the Fair. This prince gained some advantages over Edward II. of England, from whom he took several towns in Guienne. He died without issue male, A. D. 1328, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the sixth of his reign. The only praise which the French historians bestow on Charles is for his regard to the impartial administration of justice, which is certainly no trifling encomium on a sovereign.



You have now, my dear sir, been conducted through a period of French history, which excepting the admission of the third estate to the national assemblies, and the iniquitous proceedings against the knights templars, affords but little to attract your attention. I shall in a short time relate transactions of a nature more interesting, especially to an Englishman. In the mean while,

I remain, dear sir,

Your's, &c.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

- 1.—Who succeeded Philip Augustus?
- 2.—How was the minority of St. Lewis employed?
- 3.—Which were the two most remarkable events of his reign?  
What befel him in his first Croisade?
- 4.—What befel St. Lewis in his second Croisade?
- 5.—What was the character of St. Lewis?
- 6.—
- 7.—
- 8.—When and by whom were the commons of France first admitted into the general assemblies?
- 9.—When was the seat of the papacy removed from Rome to Avignon?
- 10.—In what reign was the order of knights templars abolished?
- 11.—Who ennobled many of the commons of France?
- 12.—
- 13.—How long had the crown of France devolved in regular succession from father to son?  
What caused the first dispute concerning the succession?  
Who were the claimants?  
How was the dispute decided?
- 14.—

## LETTER VIII.

*Comprising a period of one hundred and thirty-three years, from A. D. 1328. to A. D. 1461.*

| Kings of France.      | Cotemporary kings of England.        |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Philip VI. of Valois. | Edward III.                          |
| John.                 | Edward III.                          |
| Charles V.            | Edward III.<br>Richard II.           |
| Charles VI.           | Richard II.<br>Henry IV.<br>Henry V. |
| Charles VII.          | Henry VI.                            |

DEAR SIR,

ACCORDING to my promise, I now have the pleasure of renewing our correspondence, and offer to your consideration a portion of French history filled with events that will certainly attract your attention, and excite in your mind various and important reflections.

1. You must, my dear sir, have observed, that before the time of William the Conqueror, France and England had scarcely any political connection, and their military powers had never come into hostile contact. But no sooner had Normandy become an appendage to the crown of England,

than hostilities between the two kingdoms frequently occurred. This indeed was an unavoidable consequence of the kings of England holding possessions in France. These wars, however, were not productive of any important results until the reign of Philip Augustus, who expelled the English from all their continental territories, except Bourdeaux and Guienne. The possession of that province, together with the ancient claims of the crown of England to Normandy, Anjou, &c. kept up the spirit of contest, and hostilities were often renewed without producing any great or interesting events. But on the demise of Charles IV. A. D. 1328, circumstances occurred which caused the wars between France and England to assume a more interesting aspect.

2. The three sons of Philip the Fair having successively sat on the throne of France, were now all swept away in the bloom of their age, without leaving any male issue. Charles IV. indeed, left his queen pregnant; but the posthumous child proving to be a daughter, this circumstance occasioned another dispute concerning the succession. The claimants were Edward III. king of England, and Philip, count of Valois. Edward being the son of Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, was consequently the grandson of that monarch, and nephew of the three last kings of France. Philip of Valois was only their cousin german, being the nephew of Philip the Fair. Edward was therefore the nearest in blood, but descended from a female: Philip, though more distant in consanguinity, derived his descent from a male. The king of En-



gland alledged, that the exclusion of females from the throne by the salique law, did not implicate their male descendants. The count of Valois, on the contrary, insisted, that not only the females themselves, but also their male posterity was excluded. Such was the state of the case. The peers and barons of France decided the question in favour of Philip, who in consequence of this decision ascended the throne, being then about thirty-five years of age.

3. This curious affair gave rise to those wars which, without any ultimate benefit to England, brought a train of calamities on France. Philip of Valois, however, enjoyed his crown in tranquility nearly ten years. It can scarcely be doubted that Edward III. had always intended to support his pretensions by arms; but his wars with Scotland, and various other circumstances, prevented him from carrying his designs into execution.

4. Edward having placed John Baliol on the throne of Scotland, resolved to wrest, if possible, from the hand of Philip of Valois, the sceptre of France. Having made vast preparations for this arduous enterprise, and strengthened himself by various alliances, but especially by a connection with James D'Arteville, an opulent brewer of Ghent, who possessed an unbounded influence over his countrymen, he landed at Antwerp, A.D. 1358, with a powerful army. He was immediately joined by the Flemings, who, at the instigation of D'Arteville, had revolted against the count of Flanders, their sovereign.

5. More than a year was consumed in various and unavoidable delays, before Edward and Philip took the field, and the first campaign was not marked by any important transaction. Edward returned to England to procure fresh supplies, and in the year 1340 undertook his next expedition against France. The French fleet, being stationed near Sluys to prevent his landing, was totally defeated, and almost destroyed by the English, commanded by Edward in person. The French historians say that their fleet consisted of a hundred and twenty ships, with forty thousand men on board; but if this statement be correct, their vessels must have been larger than those of any other nation in that age.

6. Edward having landed in Flanders without any further opposition, assembled the finest army that had ever been commanded by any king of England: it consisted of a hundred and fifty thousand men, English, Germans, Flemings, and Gascons. With this force he commenced the siege of Tournay. Philip, with an army superior in numbers, advanced to the relief of that place; and although he declined a battle, he constantly harassed the besiegers by desultory attacks. Edward perceiving the reduction of Tournay to be a difficult task, and being in want of money for continuing the war, concluded a truce with Philip, and returned to England.

7. On the renewal of the war, the French were victorious in Guienne, and had forced the earl of Derby, the English general to take shelter in Bourdeaux. Philip had also found means to de-

tach the Flemings from their alliance with England; and James D'Arteville, the demagogue of Ghent, was killed in a popular tumult. The king of England therefore, expecting no further support from the Flemings, resolved to proceed to Guienne, and commence his operations from that quarter. But after putting to sea with his troops, he was prevented by contrary winds from reaching his intended destination, and landed in Normandy.

8. The French monarch advancing with an army of a hundred thousand men, Edward began to retreat; but seeing the impossibility of avoiding a battle, he took a strong position near Cressey, and resolved to await the approach of the enemy. Philip not doubting of victory, made extraordinary efforts to come up with the English; but by attacking them in a position in which his superiority of numbers was useless, he sustained the most dreadful defeat that the French had ever experienced since the foundation of their monarchy

9. The memorable battle of Cressey was fought on the 26th of August, A. D. 1346. It is said, that on this occasion cannon was first used by the English, being then unknown to the French. Young Edward, prince of Wales, gained a reputation equal to that of the greatest heroes of antiquity, and the victory of the English is by some ascribed to the bravery which he displayed. The French monarch also performed prodigies of valour; and after having two horses killed under him, and receiving several severe wounds, was obliged to be carried from the field. In the battle and



pursuit, there fell of the French eleven princes, eighty bannerets, twelve hundred knights, and about thirty thousand soldiers. Amongst the slain were the duke d'Alencon, brother to the king the duke of Lorraine; and fifteen other noblemen of high distinction; besides the king of Bohemia who aided Philip as an ally, and although blind, died gallantly fighting under the banners of France.

10. After this signal victory, Edward laid siege to Calais. At the first view of the fortifications, he perceived the difficulty of taking that place by force, and therefore resolved to reduce it by famine. For this purpose, he drew round the town four lines of circumvallation, and seven hundred ships formed the blockade by sea. The town being at length reduced to the last extremity, Philip resolved to make an effort for its relief. Since his defeat at Cressey, he had with incredible activity assembled another army of a hundred and fifty thousand men. With this formidable force he approached Calais and offered battle to the English; but Edward keeping within his intrenchments, which it was impossible to force, Philip was obliged to retire. The inhabitants of Calais despairing of relief, and perishing by famine, demanded a capitulation. Edward, exasperated at the obstinacy of their resistance, would only grant them personal safety on the hard condition of delivering up six of the principal burghers to suffer death by martial law, as victims to his vengeance. This severe proposal filled Calais with consternation. The inhabitants could not think of preserving their lives, by delivering up any of their companions in arms who

had shared in the hardships of the siege, and contributed to the common defence. Here we meet with an instance of patriotic heroism scarcely parallel in Greek or Roman history. Eustace St. Pierre, one of the principal persons of the town, seeing despair painted on every countenance nobly offered to be one of the six. A magnanimity so uncommon had such an effect, that five others immediately followed the heroic example. These self-devoted victims went out of the town bare-footed, in their shirts, with halters about their necks, and presented the keys to the conqueror, who immediately ordered them to be led to execution. The prince of Wales, and the English nobles, pleaded for their pardon; and when the king appeared inexorable, his queen Philippa, casting herself at his feet, implored him for Christ's sake to desist from an action that would be an eternal stain on his memory. Edward yielded to her intreaties; and the queen, not contented with saving the lives of the heroes of Calais, ordered clothes to be brought them, and after giving them an entertainment in her own pavilion, dismissed them with a present to each of six pieces of gold. They were afterwards honourably received by Philip, who amply rewarded their magnanimous heroism. Thus, after a siege or rather a blockade of eleven months and some days, the king of England became, on the 3d of August 1347, master of Calais. Famine had compelled the town to surrender, and the fortifications were still entire. Edward was so convinced of the importance of this place, that he removed all the inhabitants, and re-

peopled the town with a colony of English. After this conquest a truce was concluded, and Edward returned to England.

11. France and England now obtained some repose, and exchanged the horrors of war for the blessings of peace; but both these countries were afflicted with a most dreadful calamity. The years 1248 and 1349 stand fatally distinguished in history by the general pestilence which made so terrible ravages, not only in both these countries, but throughout all the then known world, that more than half of the human species is supposed to have perished by this tremendous visitation.

12. Philip of Valois died A. D. 1350, prematurely old, and worn out by the cares of royalty and the pleasures of love, although only in the fifty-eighth year of his age. His reign of twenty two years, amongst many evils, procured some future benefit to France. By various means he annexed several great fiefs to the crown, and thus strengthened the regal authority. And his subjects, although experiencing great misfortunes, never deviated from their loyalty.

13. John the son and successor of Philip, renewed the truce with Edward; but it was ill observed on both sides; and at its expiration, A. D. 1354, the two kings of France and England were already prepared for war. Edward, prince of Wales, who resided at Bordeaux, recommenced hostilities, and made successful incursions into the interior of France. With an army of twelve thousand men, of whom three thousand were English, and the rest Gascons, Flemish and other



foreigners, he ravaged the provinces of Auvergne, Limousin, Poictou and Berry, and advanced to the gates of Bourg. But the approach of the French king, with a force of sixty thousand men, obliged him to begin a circuitous retreat towards Bordeaux. John pursued him with extraordinary celerity, and came up with him in the vicinity of Poitiers. The prince, seeing the impossibility of continuing his retreat, intrenched his army at Maupertuis, about six miles from Poitiers, in a strong position incumbered with vineyards and thick hedges which rendered it of difficult access. A negotiation was begun; and prince Edward, considering the difficulty of his situation, offered to restore all that he had taken in his incursions, and not to bear arms for seven years against France. But John relying on the superiority of his force, rejected these proposals, and insisted that the prince with his army should surrender at discretion. To this Edward replied, that he would die with his sword in his hand rather than tarnish the glory of the English name.

14. In such a situation, the French monarch might with ease have surrounded this small army, and forced it by famine to surrender; and all his experienced generals advised him to adopt that measure, of which the success appeared certain. But his imagination being dazzled with the prospect of a splendid victory, he rejected so salutary a counsel, and resolved to make an attack on the English position. In consequence of this determination, the battle of Poitiers was fought on the 19th of September, A. D. 1356; little more than

ten years after that of Cressey, and with an issue, although less bloody, yet more disastrous to France. The nature of the ground being such that the French cavalry was unable to act, counterbalanced, in a great measure, their superiority of numbers. John displayed the most dauntless courage during the action, animating his soldiers by his voice and example, and exposing his person in the places of greatest danger. The French were at length thrown into disorder; but their king whose conspicuous valour had drawn upon him the bravest of the English warriors, though standing single and surrounded by enemies, defended himself with undaunted resolution, till at length, being overpowered by the number of assailants, he surrendered himself prisoner to Denis Morbec, a knight of St. Omers. Together with the king was taken his youngest son Philip; who, although only thirteen years of age, had bravely fought by his side. Of the French, there fell in the field more than six thousand, and about fifteen thousand were made prisoners; amongst whom, beside the king and his son, were the duke of Bourbon, and the constable of France, with fifty of the principal nobles, and eight hundred gentleman of distinction. The prince of Wales treated his royal prisoner with the greatest politeness, and afterwards conducted him to London, where the captive monarch was received with the most distinguished honours.

15 During the captivity of the king, his son, Charles the Dauphin, governed the kingdom with the title of regent. But a revolt of the Parisians,

headed by Etienne Marcel, provost of the merchants, who assassinated the two marshals of Normandy and Champagne, in the presence of the dauphin obliged that prince to retire from the capital. The peasants at the same time rose against the nobility, by whom they had been grievously oppressed, and carried their violences to such an excess, as threatened the extermination of the whole order. The dauphin, by his prudent and vigorous measures, put an end to these revolts; but the nation was in so unsettled and turbulent a state, that he found it next to impossible to re-establish order.

16. John had in the mean while concluded a treaty with the king of England, who agreed to grant him his liberty; but the conditions were so disadvantageous to France, that the states refused their ratification. [Edward, therefore, again made immense preparations for attempting the conquest of France, while the confused state of that kingdom afforded so favourable an opportunity. Having assembled at Calais an army of a hundred thousand men, he was extremely desirous of bringing the dauphin to action; and after ravaging Artois and Champagne, and compelling the duke of Burgundy to agree to a neutrality, he advanced to the gates of Paris. But the dauphin, prudently resolving not to stake the fate of the kingdom on the event of a battle, kept himself shut up in the capital; and although the English devastated the environs, and the smoke of burning villages was seen from the walls, nothing could induce him to alter his determination. Edward, however,



made no attempt on Paris. Regarding the siege of that capital as too difficult an undertaking, he retired towards La Beauce, and encamped in the vicinity of Chartres.

17. In May, A. D. 1360, a treaty of peace was concluded at Bretigny. The principal articles were, that the king of England should possess in full sovereignty Calais, Guienne, Saintonge, Poitou, &c. and that he should, for himself and his successors, renounce all pretensions to the crown of France, as well as to the duchy of Normondy, the earldom of Anjou, and all the other territories in France possessed at any time by his predecessors. The ransom of the king of France was fixed at three millions of crowns, and that prince was restored to liberty.

18. Towards the end of the year 1363, the French monarch returned to England, where he was received by Edward and his court with all the honours due to so illustrious a guest; but the motives of his visit have never been developed, and all that historians have said on the subject amounts to nothing more than conjecture. In the following year, 1364, this prince died at his palace of the Savoy at London, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign, which had been extremely calamitous to France. John possessed great personal courage, strength, and activity: but from his conduct at the battle of Poitiers, there seems to have been in his character more of the soldier than of the general.

19. Charles V. son and successor of John, ascended the throne at twenty-seven years of age;

and from his prudence obtained the surname of Wise. At his accession France was in a most disorderly state. In those times, there were always great numbers of licentious desperadoes of all nations, especially French, Flemings, Germans and Italians, who disliking a life of peace, and despising the slow acquisitions of industry, made war their employment, and plunder their pursuit. These vagrant bands, attached to no particular nation; were always ready to enlist under the banners of those who would give them pay and promised them plunder. The armies of Edward II. were chiefly composed of troops of that description; and on the conclusion of the peace, a multitude of those military adventurers being dispersed in various provinces of France, refused to lay down their arms, and relinquish a course of life to which they were habituated, and by which alone they could procure subsistence. By associating with them the disbanded soldiers of France, and other desperadoes, these ruffian bands were grown very numerous, and assuming the name of companies, became the terror of the country. The war which Henry of Transtamare had undertaken against his brother Pedro, surnamed the Cruel, king of Castile, afforded the French monarch an opportunity of ridding the kingdom of those banditti. Henry of Transtamare enlisted them into his service; and under the command of the celebrated Bertrand du Guesclin, they defeated and dethroned the Castilian tyrant. But Edward prince of Wales having espoused his cause, marched from Bordeaux, and replaced him on the throne. Pedro, however, be-

ing afterwards defeated in battle, and taken prisoner, Henry killed him with his own hand; and was crowned king of Castile. The ruffian companies were consumed in those wars, and Du Guesclin was made constable of France.

20. From the moment of his accession, Charles V. had meditated the renewal of the war with England. But he deemed it necessary to dissemble, until he had acquired sufficient strength for that purpose; and during the space of five years, he continued his professions of peace, and preparations for war. At length he threw off the mask, and found a pretext for a quarrel; and the declining health of the prince of Wales obliging him to leave France, his departure was fatal to the affairs of the English in that country. Du Guesclin, on whom the French king had conferred the command of his armies, subdued the greatest part of Guienne, and recovered the the other provinces which had been ceded to England by the treaty of Bretigny; and before the end of the war, he deprived the English of all their recent conquests and ancient possessions in France, except Calais and Bordeaux.

21. The year 1376 was distinguished by the death of Edward, prince of Wales, called the black prince, from the colour of his armour. He was the glory of England, and one of the greatest heroes that any age or country ever produced.—His death was followed about a year after by that of his father, Edward III. one of the most celebrated princes that ever was decorated with royalty. The famous Bertrand Du Guesclin, one of the greatest military commanders of his time, died A.



D. 1380, and in the same year died Charles V. king of France, celebrated for his consummate prudence and political sagacity. Within the short space of four years, four of the greatest men that any age had seen were swept away from the earth, and buried all their contentions in the tomb. But this is only one of numerous instances which history affords, to show the vanity of all the pursuits of ambition, and the transitory nature of sublunary things.

22. Charles V. died A. D. 1380, as it has been already observed, being in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign, which, although tumultuous and troublesome, was uniformly prosperous. His early death is ascribed to the effects of Poison, given him before his accession by Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, who intended by his destruction to open for himself a way to the throne of France. The character of Charles V. merits attention. He possessed an uncommon share of prudence, having been educated in the school of adversity, and tutored by experience in situations of difficulty and danger. Contrary to the general practice of princes in that age, he never appeared at the head of his armies, and was the first European monarch that showed the advantage of policy and foresight over rash and precipitate valour. From the inmost recesses of his palace, the effects of his prudence were felt throughout every part of the kingdom; and without stirring out of his cabinet, he recovered almost all that his father and grandfather, after excessive fatigues and extraordinary efforts of courage and bravery

had lost. He was also a lover of learning, and may be considered as the founder of the royal library at Paris. He collected and placed in the Louvre about nine hundred volumes—a very great number in that age, when the typographical art was not yet invented, especially as twenty volumes composed the whole literary stock left him by his predecessor. From such an insignificant commencement arose that famous library which has become the admiration of later times. It was considerably augmented by Lewis XII. and Francis I. after a taste for letters and science had begun to diffuse itself in France: succeeding princes added to its literary stock, and under the auspices of Lewis XIV. and Lewis XV. it was rendered the most copious and most valuable library in the whole world, with perhaps the single exception of that of the Vatican at Rome.

23. At the demise of Charles V. France had nearly recovered her former grandeur; but that kingdom was never more unhappy than under the reign of his son and successor. Charles VI. was a minor of twelve years of age; and the disputes of his four uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Burgundy, Berry, and Bourbon, for the regency, were the harbingers of the calamities that were about to fall on the kingdom. It was at last agreed that the duke of Anjou should be president of the council, and that the care of the king's person should be committed to the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, who, with the approbation of the dukes of Anjou and Berry, were to nominate the officers of the royal household.

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24. In the thirteenth year of his reign, A. D. 1393, Charles VI. having previously shown some symptoms of mental derangement, was seized with a sudden frenzy. From this disorder he had a partial recovery; but although he had lucid intervals, the state of his mind was such as to render him unfit for the government of the kingdom. In the mean while the marriage of his sister Isabella with Richard II. produced a truce of twenty years between France and England.

25. The incapacity of the unfortunate monarch occasioned a violent contest between the houses of Burgundy and Orleans, both of them aspiring to the administration. The dukes of Burgundy and Berry seized on the regency, and excluded the king's brother, the duke of Orleans, from any share in the management of public affairs. France now began to present a scene of anarchy and crimes to which we seldom find any parallel in history. The duke of Orleans was accused of bewitching the king his brother; but the falsity of the charge being proved, the accusers were put to death. The duke then seized on the administration, from which he excluded his uncle the duke of Burgundy, but the latter soon recovered his superiority.

26. Philip duke of Burgundy dying A. D. 1405, was succeeded by his son John, surnamed the Fearless, who, following the steps of his father, seized the regency, and compelled the queen and the duke of Orleans to retire from Paris. The



duke of Burgundy was now beyond comparison the most potent vassal of the French crown. Philip the Hardy had, by marriage with the heiress of those provinces, become count of Flanders, Artois, Franche-Comte, &c. To these territories his son John added Hainault, Holland, and Zealand by espousing Margaret of Bavaria. John the Fearless, therefore, was in possession not only of Burgundy and Franche-Comte, but of nearly the whole of the Netherlands.

27. A feigned reconciliation between these two branches of the royal family of France, did not extinguish their animosity. (The duke of Orleans was assassinated in one of the streets of Paris by ruffians, whom the duke of Burgundy had hired for that bloody purpose. The court and parliament of Paris, instead of avenging the death of the first prince of the blood, accepted the duke of Burgundy's justification, and the heinous crime of murder was veiled under the specious name of tyrannicide.

28. The duke of Burgundy was now possessed of the administration; but the court and the capital presented a scene of confusion, being divided by the two factions of the (Burgundians and the Armagnacs: the latter being so named from the count of Armagnac, who had espoused the cause and joined the party of his son-in-law, the young duke of Orleans. An open war was carried on between the two factions; and Paris exhibited continual scenes of violence and bloodshed. The count of St. Paul, governor of the city, desirous of expelling the Armagnacs, engaged a number of

butchers, and formed a body of five hundred desperadoes, who committed all kinds of outrages. The king being in the power sometimes of one party, sometimes of the other, transferred alternately to each the ostensible appearance of legal authority. A treaty of peace was concluded, but soon after violated; and the Parisians, at the instigation of the duke of Burgundy, held Lewis the dauphin, who favoured the Armagnacs, a prisoner in the hotel of St. Paul. The king at length was induced to join the duke of Orleans in the war against the Burgundians.

29. Such was the anarchical state of France when Henry V. of England, reviving the claims of his ancestor Edward III. projected the invasion and conquest of that kingdom. In the month of August, A. D. 1415, Henry landed with fifty thousand men at Havre de Grace, in Normandy. But sickness soon rendered his army incapable of offensive operations. An epidemical dysentery had broke out amongst the troops, and in a few weeks made such terrible ravages that not more than a fourth part was left alive and able to bear arms. The French in the mean while having collected a numerous army, were rapidly advancing. Under these circumstances, the king of England adopted the difficult, and almost desperate expedient of retiring to Calais.

30. The constable D'Albret, generalissimo of the French armies, took every possible measure to harass the English, and cut off their retreat. Having been joined by all the princes of the blood, except the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and all

the nobles except those of their faction, he called a council of war, in which it was unanimously resolved to force the king of England to an action; and according to this determination, a position was taken near Agincourt, directly in his route towards Calais. But in choosing a narrow piece of ground, flanked on one side by a rivulet, on the other by a wood, the French general committed a fault which, in all probability, occasioned the loss of the battle. The English army is said to have been wasted by sickness to about nine thousand men, and according to the most moderate statements the French forces were three or four times more numerous than those of the enemy with whom they had to contend; and as the English were under the necessity of proceeding towards Calais, the French commander had in his own power the choice of his ground, and ought to have waited for them on some plain sufficiently spacious for the evolutions of his numerous army.

31. The battle of Agincourt was fought on the 25th of October A. D. 1415, under circumstances nearly similar to those which brought on the actions of Cressey and Poitiers; and its issue was scarcely less disastrous to France. The constable D'Albret, commander-in-chief of the French army, fell bravely fighting at the head of the first division, and the desperate efforts of the duke D'Alencon with the second were not able to change the fortune of the day. The king of England, as well as his troops, displayed a valour never surpassed by the most renowned heroes that history commemorates, and gained a complete victory. The French



lost the constable D'Albret, their commander-in-chief, the duke d'Alencon, prince of the blood, the dukes of Brabant and Bar, the counts of Nevers, Roussi, Faquenbergh, Marli, and Vaudemont who were all slain, as well as many other nobles and officers of distinction, and about ten thousand soldiers. Amongst the prisoners were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendome, Richmond, Etonville, and marshal Bocicaut, with many other persons of rank.

32. So great a national misfortune did not extinguish the national animosity of the French factions. The duke of Burgundy approached Paris with his army. The Dauphin called in the count D'Armagnac, the head of the Orleans faction, and gave him the constable's sword. This nobleman spared none of the Burgundian party: some were hanged, many were imprisoned, and numbers escaped from the city. Lewis the dauphin died during these transactions. His brother John, the second dauphin, was inclined to favour the Burgundians; but within less than four months his life was terminated by poison. Charles, the third dauphin joined the Armagnacs; and the duke of Burgundy entered into an alliance with England. After the conclusion of this treaty, Henry V. had nearly the half of France on his side.

33. The Burgundians having found means to introduce Villiers de l'Isle Adam into Paris, made a terrible slaughter of the Orleans party; the constable D'Armagnac was thrown into prison: the dauphin escaping in his shirt fled to Melun, and the king was left in the hands of the victorious fac-

tion. But this was only a prelude to more horrible scenes. The exiled Burgundians returning from all quarters to Paris renewed the massacre. The count D'Armagnac was murdered and dragged through the streets, and the chancellor and several others of that party, to the number of two thousand persons suffered the same treatment. A few days afterwards, June 14th, A. D. 1418, the duke of Burgundy entered the metropolis, and having the king in his power, issued in his name such orders as he thought conducive to his own interests.

34. Soon after these events the French nation began to be cheered with the hope of a reconciliation between the contending factions. The prospect, however, was illusory. At an interview on the bridge of Montereau, for the ostensible purpose of friendly negotiation, John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, was assassinated on the 11th of August, A. D. 1419, in the presence of the dauphin, and, as it was universally believed by his order. His son and successor Philip the Good, in the view of avenging his death, entered into a league with the king of England, and with Isabella of Bavaria, queen of France, the implacable enemy of her son the dauphin. The queen assumed the regency: a series of negotiations commenced, and on the 21st of May, A. D. 1420, a treaty was concluded at Troyes. Catherine, daughter of Charles VI. was given in marriage to the king of England who was declared regent of France during the life of his father-in-law, and successor to the throne after his decease.

35. The dauphin being by this treaty excluded

from the succession, resolved to maintain by the sword his hereditary right, and assuming the title of regent, continued the war against the king of England and his adherents. Within two years after the treaty of Troyes, Henry V. died at Vincennes, and his son Henry VI. being a minor, he appointed his brother, the duke of Bedford, to the regency of France.

36. The death of Henry V. of England was followed within less than two months by that of Charles VI. This prince died on the 20th of October, A. D. 1422, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the forty-third of the most calamitous reign that France had ever seen since the accession of Hugh Capet, or perhaps since the time of Charlemagne. Of his character nothing can be said, as an unfortunate malady was the primary source of his misfortunes, and of those of the kingdom.

37. The dauphin now assumed the regal title by the name of Charles VII. and was crowned at Poitiers. France thus beheld the baleful phenomenon of two kings and two courts, with hostile armies contending for her dubious sceptre, and desolating her finest provinces. Henry was master of Paris and most of the northern provinces: Charles was in possession of all the southern parts of the kingdom, except Guienne, which was held by the English: the middle part might be considered as doubtful territory; and several of the provinces were divided between the two contending princes, each of whom had his fortified towns and garrisons in the neighbourhood of those of the enemy. Such was the state of France at the accessions of the two rival kings.



38. The war was carried on with all the vigour that the means of the two parties would permit; but France was weakened by discord and division and England was drained of men and money by sending fresh levies and maintaining numerous garrisons. And as the troops on both sides were for the most part employed in garrisoning the fortified places, the operations of the war consisted chiefly of sieges, surprises and skirmishes. The efforts of the English however were generally crowned with success, and the affairs of Charles VII. began to appear irretrievable.

39. But at the very moment when the French prince was reduced almost to the last extremity, that singular historical phænomenon, the celebrated Maid of Orleans appeared; and his fortune took a turn which the most sanguine imagination could never have expected. This extraordinary personage was a country girl, named Joan d'Arc, who lived at the village of Domremi in Lorrain, in the humble station of servant at an inn. Being of an enthusiastic and visionary cast of mind, she imagined herself to be commissioned by Heaven to restore her sovereign to the throne of his ancestors. This enthusiast being introduced to Charles, who was then at Chinon, declared her divine mission, offering in the name of the Great Ruler of the universe, to raise the siege of Orleans, which was on the point of surrendering to the English, and to reinstate him in the kingdom by conducting him to Rheims to be anointed and crowned. The king and his court perceiving that she might be made an useful instrument to revive the spirits of his adherents.

whose hopes were almost extinguished by continual losses and misfortunes, resolved to adopt the illusion; and an excellent plan was contrived to give it an effect on the minds of the people. An assembly of divines examined her mission and pronounced it supernatural: a jury of matrons attested her unspotted virginity; and every story that craft could invent or ignorance believe, was forged to diffuse the opinion of her celestial inspiration. It was universally asserted, and as universally believed, that Heaven had declared in favour of Charles and was ready to take vengeance on his enemies. The public mind being thus prepared, the Maid, mounted on horseback, and arrayed in all the habiliments of war, was shown to the people, who received her with loud acclamations. The English affected at first to treat all this farce with derision; but their minds were secretly struck, and superstition ingrafted on ignorance is irresistible in its operations. Feeling their courage and confidence abated, they conceived themselves to be under the influence of Divine indignation, and a general consternation seized on those troops, who, before this event, were elated with success, and fearless of danger.

40. The minds of men being thus impressed, the Maid was brought into action. Arrayed in her martial habiliments; and displaying a consecrated standard, she put herself at the head of a convoy destined for Orleans. The count de Dunois making at the same time a desperate sortie, the besiegers were obliged to give way. The convoy was then introduced into Orleans, and Joan

entering the city, was received by the inhabitants as a celestial deliverer.

41. This success being ascribed to the heavenly inspired maid, her enthusiasm animated the troops. Four successful sorties were made with Joan at their head: in the last of these, although wounded both in the neck and the shoulder, she continued to animate the soldiers, by exhortation and example, and on every occasion displayed an intrepidity and valour not to have been expected from her sex. The English having lost eight thousand men in those different actions, besides being driven from their principal works, were obliged to raise the siege on the 8th May, A. D. 1429, after having consumed seven months before the place.

42. The retreat of the English from before Orleans ushered in the decline of their affairs. The whole disposable force of the French king did not amount to more than six thousand men; yet this inconsiderable body of troops fearlessly pursued the English; who, although far superior in numbers, retired from before the inauspicious walls, panic struck, and in the greatest disorder. Their consternation was indescribable, and could only be equalled by the ardour instilled into their enemies, to whom the fortified towns surrendered with astonishing rapidity, and often without making any resistance. Never were the effects of superstitious credulity more strikingly conspicuous. That the Maid of Orleans was an instrument of supernatural agency, was the general belief of both nations; but while the French were every day more fully



persuaded that her mission was Divine, the English began to ascribe her successes to diabolical powers: the former, therefore, were inspired with military enthusiasm: the latter were petrified with terror.

43. The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of her promise to Charles: the other, which was his coronation at Rheims, yet remained to be performed, and appeared to be a work of great difficulty. That city was in the hands of the English, and the king had above an hundred and twenty miles to march, through a country filled with their garrisons. But it was expedient to maintain the belief of something supernatural in those events. Charles therefore resolved to avail himself of the consternation of the enemy, and to follow his prophetic conductress. The presence of the Maid inspired the troops with the same enthusiastic ardour by which she was actuated. The English were defeated at Palay: their garrisons surrendered at the first summons. Charles saw the number of his adherents increase with his prosperity; and his army was soon augmented to forty-five thousand men. Rheims being, like all the fortified towns in his route, abandoned by the English at his approach, he entered the city in triumph; and on the 17th of July, A. D. 1429, was crowned with the usual solemnities.

44. The Maid of Orleans now declared that her mission was concluded; but by the persuasions of the king, she consented to remain in his service. This determination however, proved fatal to the heroine. Having imprudently thrown her-

self into Compeigne, then besieged by the English she was taken prisoner in making a sortie. Policy, superstition, and vengeance, concurred in procuring her destruction. The duke of Bedford was desirous of dispelling an illusion which converted the English into cowards, and the French into heroes. The measures which he took for that purpose have disgraced his name in the eyes of an enlightened posterity, but they were perfectly in unison with the superstitious spirit of that age. By his order, she was tried by an ecclesiastical court, on charges of impiety, heresy, and sorcery. Her ignorant or iniquitous judges, found her guilty of all these crimes; and this enthusiastic, but admirable patriot and heroine, whose life and conduct had been irreproachable, was consigned to the flames.

45. Thus perished the celebrated Maid of Orleans, whose name will for ever be commemorated in the histories of France and England. The cruel sacrifice, however, was too late to turn the tide of success, which for more than two years had so rapidly flowed in favour of Charles. In order to restore the declining affairs of the English in France, Henry VI. was by the duke of Bedford's direction, brought to Paris, A. D. 1431, and solemnly crowned in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The design of this spectacle was to animate his adherents; but the cause was irretrievably lost. The war, however, was continued during a series of years with various success, but generally to the disadvantage of the English. In the year 1435, their cause received a mortal blow by the

defection of the duke of Burgundy, who abandoned the alliance of England, and concluded a treaty with Charles. In the following year, 1436, on the 13th of April, Paris surrendered to Charles, after having been almost fourteen years in the possession of the English. All the other cities and provinces were successively recovered, till at length, A. D. 1453, the French made themselves masters of Guienne, with Bordeaux its capital. Thus the English were entirely expelled from every part of France, except the single town of Calais, the only remaining monument of their former possessions and conquests.

46. Charles VII. was the first French monarch that established a standing army. By this measure, which tended to render the feudal levies unnecessary, he deprived the nobles of a pretext for keeping in arms those numerous bands of retainers with which they had been accustomed to carry on their private wars, and to overawe the sovereign. He had therefore the glory, not only of expelling his foreign enemies, but also of weakening the turbulent aristocracy of France, and of strengthening the power of the crown. This prince died A. D. 1461, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-ninth of a difficult, but most fortunate reign, which procured him the surname of Victorious, although he was little more than a spectator of its wonderful events.

47. In regard to the character of Charles VII. historians are not agreed. The president Henault says, that fortune seemed, out of mere wantonness and sport, to have raised up formidable enemies to



attack him, and able commanders to support his cause, and that he never concerned himself in its defence. He was not deficient in the courage of a soldier; but he wanted the prudence and foresight of a general. His life was spent in sports, in feasts, and gallantry. "Yet," says the president, "some historians, deceived by the wonders of his reign, could not be persuaded that he had no concern in them, and therefore they have given him the title of Victorious." But if he did little for himself, fortune and friends did much for him; and his affairs were so well managed by his ministers and generals, that France, which at the commencement of his reign was divided, miserable, and depressed, was at its termination united, flourishing, and formidable.

48. You have now, my dear Sir, seen pass in review, a period of French history highly important and interesting in itself, besides being closely connected with the annals of your own country. And you have had the opportunity of contemplating the effects of all the ambition, the valour, the sagacity, the craft, the superstitions, and follies of mankind, brought into action in an age when Europe was yet in a state of semi-civilization.

The revolution produced by the Maid of Orleans being an event of a singular nature, and unparalleled in the annals of any age or country, cannot have escaped your minute attention, nor glided through your mind without attracting observation, and exciting reflection. The character and pretensions of this extraordinary person, have been a subject of dispute amongst divines, and

historical critics. While the French affirmed that she was an agent of God, the English regarded her as an instrument of the devil. National prejudice united with superstition, directed their opinion. But an accurate knowledge of the human mind, and of political history, will solve the problem, without having recourse to the doctrine of miracles. Some have supposed, that the whole affair originated in the court of Charles, at Chinon; and that Joan D'Arc was from the very first instructed in the part that she was to act. Pope Pius II. seems to have inclined to this opinion, which will not appear improbable to those who are versed with the history of kings and statesmen in the ages of popular ignorance. But from the accounts of her examination before the judges in which she declared that she had frequently heard preternatural voices, and been favored with visits by St. Catharine and St. Margaret, it appears that she was a fanatical visionary. Such being the case, her enthusiastic imagination, inflamed by daily accounts of the events then taking place, might probably have inspired her with a romantic desire of relieving the distresses of her country and her sovereign; and revolving continually these important subjects in her ignorant and inexperienced mind, she might easily mistake the impulses of fancy for celestial inspirations, a circumstance, of which many instances are found in the history of enthusiasm. It is therefore highly probable, that the affair originated in her own heated imagination; and that the king and court, considering her as an instrument that might be of use, and could not be

prejudicial in their situation, which already seemed desperate, availed themselves of the illusion, and seconded it by imposture. On these principles, this extraordinary affair, the discussion of which has exercised so many pens, is easily explained; and sound reason, untinctured with superstition, will readily conclude, that the celebrated Maid of Orleans was neither saint nor sorceress, but a visionary enthusiast. Of this the French generals were so fully convinced, although holding out a different opinion to their troops, that while they seemed to act under her direction, they were careful not to deviate from the ordinary rules of war. The whole transaction was nothing more than a seasonable and successful concurrence of enthusiasm in the Maid, of political craft in the court, and of superstitious credulity in the people, all of which are far from being miraculous circumstances.

Although from the first it has been my constant aim and desire that brevity should be a distinguishing characteristic in these historical sketches, it is scarcely needful to offer an apology for having expatiated so much on a subject which, by exhibiting in so striking a manner the power of opinion, is rendered memorable to posterity, and interesting to philosophers of all ages and nations. I shall, however, request your further indulgence for a few moments, while I suggest some remarks on the contests which arose from the opposite claims of Philip of Valois, and Edward III. to the French crown.

49. Without consuming time in discussing the



validity of those pretensions, which are at this time uninteresting, I shall only wish you to observe, that the conquest of France, whether founded in equity or injustice, must have been greatly prejudicial to England. The presence of the monarch would have been almost always required in France a more central station than England, in respect of the other European powers; and its more agreeable climate would have concurred, with various other circumstances, to make it the royal residence. The nobility would have been attracted to that country, and England would soon have been regarded only as an insular appendage to France. Paris would therefore have been the metropolis of the Anglo-Francic empire; and London, forsaken by the court and nobility, although its advantageous situation for commerce might have rendered it an opulent city, would have been nothing more than a provincial capital, and would never have attained to its present state of wealth, population, and grandeur. Such must have been the case, if France and England had been united, either by conquest, or peaceable succession. England would have been annexed to France, rather than France to England. Of the justness of this reasoning, the succession of James I. to the English throne furnishes a sufficient proof. As Scotland, in later times, was annexed to England by the succession of a Scottish king to the English throne. so in the case here under consideration, England would have been annexed to France. Neither the French nor the English nation, however, contemplated things in this light. The parliaments of

Edward III. and Henry V. zealously supported the pretensions of those monarchs; and the people, dazzled by the "ignis fatuus" of an ideal conquest, seconded with ardour their views, of which the realization must have been so detrimental to England, while the French nation obstinately opposed a succession which would have spared oceans of blood, and millions of money, and been productive of incalculable advantages to France: Historians and orators frequently declaim against the ambition of kings; but they might with equal or perhaps greater propriety, reprobate the madness of nations. Presuming that you will not think these remarks unworthy of your attention.

I remain, dear Sir,  
Your's, &c.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

- 1.—When did the wars between England and France begin? *1214*  
From what source did they originate?
- 2.—What caused the grand dispute concerning the French succession?  
How was it decided? *1214*
- 3.—
- 4.—Who was James D'Arteville?
- 5.—What was the strength of the French fleet defeated by Edward III? *1340*
- 6.—What was the strength of Edward's army?
- 7.—How did James D'Arteville terminate his career?  
What measure did his death cause Edward III. to adopt?
- 8.—
- 9.—In what year was the battle of Cressey? *1346*
- 10.—How long did the siege of Calais continue?

When, and from what cause did Calais surrender to Edward III?

- 11.—In what years did the general pestilence happen?
- 12.—
- 13.—What was the strength of the French and English armies, at the battle of Poitiers?
- 14.—When did the battle of Poitiers take place?
- 15.—Who governed France during the captivity of John?
- 16.—What king of England advanced to the gates of Paris?
- 17.—In what year was the peace of Bretigny concluded?
- 18.—Where did John king of France die?  
What was his military character?
- 19.—In what state was France at the accession of Char. V?  
How did Charles get rid of the companies?
- 20.—What general expelled the English from the greatest part of their possessions in France?
- 21.—What was the character of Bertrand du Guesclin?
- 22.—Who was the founder of the royal library at Paris?
- 23.—
- 24.—With what disease was Charles VI. seized?
- 25.—Who was accused of bewitching Charles VI?
- 26.—Who was the most potent vassal of the French crown?
- 27.—What prince of the blood was assassinated in the streets of Paris?
- 28.—What two factions divided the city of Paris?  
Who held Lewis the Dauphin a prisoner in the hotel of St. Paul?
- 29.—When did Henry V. land at Havre de Grace?
- 30.—To what place was Henry V. retreating, when the battle of Agincourt took place?
- 31.—When was the battle of Agincourt fought?
- 32.—Who made a terrible havoc of the Burgundians at Paris?
- 33.—Who made a great slaughter of the Orleans party?
- 34.—When and where, and by whose order was John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy assassinated?  
When was the treaty of Troyes concluded?
- 35.—Who was excluded from the succession by this treaty?
- 36.—When did Charles VI. die?



What was the character of his reign?

37.—Of what part of France was the king of England master?

What part was under the dominion of the Dauphin, or Charles VII.

38.—

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39.—Who was the Maid of Orleans?

What did she promise to Charles?

40.—What was her first exploit?

41.—When did the English raise the siege of Orleans?

42.—What opinion did the French and English entertain concerning the Maid of Orleans?

43.—When was Charles VII. crowned at Rheims?

44.—Of what crimes was the Maid of Orleans accused?  
To what death was she condemned?

45.—In what year did Paris surrender to Charles VII?

How long had Paris been possessed by the English?

In what year did the English lose Bordeaux?

47.—How did Charles VII. spend his life?

What was the state of France at the beginning and at the end of his reign?

48.—Was the Maid of Orleans either saint or sorceress?

49.—Whether would the union of the crowns of France and England have been of greater advantage to the former, or to the latter country?

## LETTER IX.

*Comprising a period of one hundred and twenty-eight years, from A. D. 1461. to A. D. 1589.*

| Kings of France. | Cotemporary kings of England.                   |
|------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Lewis XI.        | Edward IV.                                      |
| Charles VIII.    | Richard III.<br>Henry VII.                      |
| Lewis XII.       | Henry VII.<br>Henry VIII.                       |
| Francis I.       | Henry VIII.                                     |
| Henry II.        | Edward VI.<br>Mary, queen.<br>Elizabeth, queen. |
| Francis II.      | Elizabeth, queen.                               |
| Charles IX.      | Elizabeth, queen.                               |
| Henry III.       | Elizabeth, queen.                               |

DEAR SIR,

THE period of history which I now present to your view, is not so strikingly distinguished by important events as that which was the subject of my last communication; but yet it is not devoid of interest, nor unworthy of attention, as it displays a great change in the state of society.

1. Lewis XI. succeeded his father Charles VII. and immediately began to take measures for humbling the aristocracy. The nobles being alarmed, formed a confederacy, and flew to arms, having the count of Charolois, son of the duke of Burgundy, at their head. The war which ensued was called the war for the public good, although its authors had no such object in view. Neither its operations nor its issue, however, were important: the count of Charleroi laid siege to Paris, but without success: an indecisive action took place about twenty miles from that capital; and at last a treaty was concluded on terms favourable to the insurgents, but to which the king never intended to adhere.

2. The nonfulfilment of the treaty on the part of Lewis was very near causing a second revolt of the nobles; and in order to avert the storm, the king had a personal interview with the duke of Burgundy at Peronne, a town which the latter had in his possession. But at the same time he despatched emissaries to Liege, to excite the inhabitants to revolt against the duke of Burgundy. His agents executed their commission with success, but not with the secrecy he had expected. Intelligence was brought to Peronne, that the Liegeois, instigated by the French emissaries, had revolted, and put the Burgundian garrison to the sword. The duke exasperated at the duplicity and perfidy of the French monarch, imprisoned him in a castle where Charles the Simple had, five hundred and forty years before, ended his days in confinement. The king seeing himself in the power of his enemy, and uncertain of his fate, was obliged to con-



clude a treaty extremely advantageous to the house of Burgundy, and submit to every condition that pride and resentment thought fit to impose: one of the most mortifying was, that he should march with the duke against Liege, and assist in the reduction of a city which he himself had excited to revolt. The result was fatal to Liege: the city was taken and burnt, and the inhabitants were put to the sword. Such were the direful effects of the cruel policy of Lewis: such are the fatal calamities in which the people are frequently involved, by the contentions of the great.

3. One of the political maxims of Lewis XI. was to avoid any quarrel with England, in order to be always at liberty to reduce the aristocracy of his own kingdom. He held a secret correspondence with several of the ministers and courtiers of Edward IV. granted them pensions, and agreed to pay fifty thousand crowns annually to that prince during their joint lives, in order to induce him to desist from his pretensions to the provinces of France formerly possessed by the English.

4. The greatest part of the reign of Lewis was spent in contests with his vassals, especially with Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, until the fall of that prince in a battle fought against the Swiss, near the town of Nancy, in Lorraine,—an event by which the French monarch got rid of a vassal whose power and ambition was dangerous to the crown. On this occasion, however, the jealous policy and rapacity of Lewis led him into an error of which the consequences have been disastrous to France. While a marriage was negotiating be-

tween the dauphin, his son, and Mary, daughter and heiress of Charles, the king, according to his rapacious policy, seized on the province of Artois and a great part of Burgundy. The Flemings, exasperated at such conduct, promoted the marriage of the heiress of Burgundy with Maximilian, son of the emperor Frederick III. by which the Netherlands were transferred to the house of Austria. This event was the source of various contests which in later times cost France and Austria so much blood and money. Lewis XV. being at Bruges in the year 1745, and seeing the tombs of Charles the Bold and his daughter Mary of Burgundy, expressed himself in these terms: "There is the first cause of our wars."

5. In order to depress the power of the nobles, Lewis made use of two grand engines of power and policy,—the augmentation of the standing army left by his predecessor, and the direction of the national assemblies. He increased his cavalry to fifteen thousand, and his infantry to twenty-five thousand, amongst whom were six thousand Swiss, at that time the best disciplined soldiers in Europe. With such a force well disciplined, and always ready for action, the disunited nobles, already weakened and impoverished by their intestine broils, were totally unable to contend. In order to maintain this army, he increased the taxes in proportion. His predecessor Charles VII. never levied more than one million eight hundred thousand livres per annum. Lewis increased the taxes to the annual amount of four millions seven hundred thousand livres, which in that age was equivalent to about

twenty-three millions and a half of modern French money, or somewhat more than one million sterling,—a larger revenue than, perhaps, any other European prince in that age possessed. In order to levy these large sums, he exerted all his address to influence the elections of the representatives of the commons, and to bribe or overawe the nobility and clergy. By these and various other modes of political craft, he acquired the complete direction of the assemblies of the states, which alone had the power of granting subsidies, and thus rendered them subservient to his purposes.

6. By these artful and vigorous measures Lewis (overturned the feudal system,) and rendered himself master of the resources of his kingdom. In taking a retrospect of the history of France, and reviewing the degraded state of her kings, the frequent devastation of her provinces by intestine wars, and the constant oppression of her people by the power of the feudal lords, the candid observer must acknowledge that scarcely any remedy could be too violent for evils so complicated and dreadful; and that nothing less than the artful policy and unrelenting severity of Lewis XII. could have reduced to order such a chaos of confusion.

7. When Lewis had, by employing every engine of violence and policy, accomplished his designs, he fell into a lingering disorder, which warned him of his approaching dissolution. But although he seemed to expect the stroke of death with those horrors of mind that result from a consciousness of guilt and apprehensions of punishment, he resolved to support to the last moment his absolute



power, and provided by every possible means against any attempts which the languid state of his health might encourage the nobles to make against his authority. Concealing as much as possible his sickness, and causing reports of his convalescence to be daily circulated, he shut himself up in the castle of Plessis les Tours, which he caused to be encompassed with massive bars of iron of an extraordinary thickness, and at every corner were watch-towers, strongly guarded with soldiers. The gate was shut, and the bridge drawn up every night; and throughout the whole day the captains guarded their posts with the same vigilance as in a place closely besieged. Within this impregnable fortress Lewis bade defiance to every mode of attack, while all the powers of medicine, every allurements of the sense, and all the inventions of superstition, were employed to promote his recovery. Sacred relics were brought from various parts, that their effects on his health might be tried; and St. Francis of Paul was invited from Calabria, in order to restore by his prayers the shattered frame of the monarch. The powers of music were employed to revive his spirits, and the most beautiful girls were procured to dance in his presence, to the sound of various instruments, for his amusement. In spite, however, of all his precautions and endeavours, death, that irresistible assailant, whose entrance all his iron bars, strong walls, and wide ditches, could not prevent, made Lewis his prey, on the 30th of August, A. D. 1483, in the sixty-first year of his age, and when the twenty-second of his reign wanted only fifteen days of its expiration.

8. Philip de Commines has portrayed the character of Lewis XI. as well as related the events of his reign. (He appeared humble in his speech, his apparel, and deportment, but excessively tenacious of his authority; avaricious in his disposition, but extremely liberal when his policy required profusion, severe in his temper, and incapable of affection. He possessed, however, great natural abilities, and used to say that his whole council was in his head—a boast which he might with propriety make, as he consulted no person concerning the measures of his government. He was a friend to the people; but a tyrant to the nobles, whom he frequently confined in iron cages, and sometimes loaded with heavy and galling fetters. (His reign is particularly distinguished by the aggrandisement of the regal power, and the depression of the aristocracy. By seizure, purchase, or mortgage, he annexed many of the great fiefs to the crown, and before his demise the French monarchy had nearly taken its present form.

9. Charles VIII. succeeded his father Lewis XI. in the fourteenth year of his age. (His reign derived a considerable brilliancy from his expedition to Naples; but his kingdom received no benefit from that undertaking. Charles, resuming the ancient claims of the royal family of France to the crown of Naples, set out A. D. 1494, on his Italian expedition. With an army not exceeding twenty thousand men, he traversed Italy, the petty princes and states of that country being too much divided amongst themselves to oppose his progress; and the king of Naples having retired at his ap-

proach, he made a triumphal entry into the capital. The kingdom of Naples, however, was lost as rapidly as it had been conquered. The successes of Charles occasioned a league between the pope, the Venetians, the emperor, and Ferdinand king of Arragon, for the purpose of expelling the French out of Italy. The French monarch was, therefore obliged to retreat. At the battle of Fornova, in which he displayed the most signal proofs of valour, he forced a passage through his enemies, and with great difficulty effected his retreat into France. This prince died A. D. 1498, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. His character was quite the reverse of that of his predecessor. ( He was as bold, open, and generous, as Lewis XI. was timorous, reserved, and insidious; but inferior to him in abilities. ) Commynes describes Charles VIII. as “a little man both in body and understanding, but so good-natured, that it was impossible to meet with a better creature.” His marriage with the heiress of Bretagne was an event of great benefit to France, by causing the annexation of that fief to the crown.

10. Charles VIII. dying without male issue, was succeeded by Lewis, duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, known by the name of Lewis XII. This prince, deriving from his mother a claim to the duchy of Milan, and inheriting those of his predecessors to the kingdom of Naples, involved himself in a series of Italian wars, which continued almost the whole time of his reign. A detail of those wars, negotiations, treaties and con-



federacies, in which most of the princes of Europe were concerned, but which are now almost buried in oblivion, would be uninteresting. It suffices to say that Lewis was duped out of the kingdom of Naples by the perfidious policy of Ferdinand king of Spain, and that after having three times conquered and lost the Milanese, he terminated the contest without acquiring one foot of ground in Italy.

11. Lewis XII. departed this life A. D. 1515, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign, which had been almost wholly employed in the vain attempt of obtaining possessions in Italy. But notwithstanding his projects of aggrandisement, he was sparing of expenses, and was supposed to have sometimes injured his affairs by an ill-judged frugality. But he used to say, that he should rather wish his subjects to laugh at his parsimony than to weep under his oppression. And it must be regarded as a remarkable circumstance in financial history, that in a reign of continual wars, the weight of taxation was greatly diminished.

12. This prince leaving only a female issue, the crown devolved on Francis I. who was descended in the male line from Charles V. being the great grandson of Lewis duke of Orleans, the second son of that monarch. Francis had no sooner ascended the throne, than he marched into Italy, and the battle of Marignano, in which he signalized himself by his bravery, rendered him master of the Milanese.

13. On the death of the emperor Maximilian,

A. D. 1519, Francis I. presented himself as a candidate for the imperial dignity. But the election was carried in favour of Charles V. king of Spain and sovereign of the Netherlands. This competition of Francis and Charles for the empire was the original source of the almost continual wars which, under various pretexts, were carried on between these two monarchs.

14. The year 1520 was distinguished by the famous interview of Francis I. with Henry VIII. king of England, in a plain near Ardres, a town about eight miles south-east from Calais, where the two kings and their attendants displayed the magnificence of that age with such emulation and profusion of expense as caused that piece of ground to be denominated "Le Champ de Drap d'Or," the field of cloth of gold. The nobles of France and England also exhibited their prowess in tournaments, wrestlings, and other exercises of chivalry; and sumptuous feasts closed these splendid scenes of amusement.

15. In the following year, [1521] the long wars between the French monarch and the emperor began. These contests with the various negotiations, treaties, and confederacies to which they gave rise, afford ample materials for history, but their details would far exceed the limits of this epistolary correspondence. It must, therefore, suffice to draw a general sketch, distinguishing only some of the most striking and important events.

16. Francis commenced his warlike operations by marching an army into Italy; and like his pre-

decessor, soon won and soon lost the Milanese. Charles V. reinstated Francis Sforza in the dukedom of Milan; and the pope, the emperor, the king of England, Henry VIII. with the Venetians, Florentines, and Genoese, formed a league for the preservation of Italy against the attempts of the French monarch. This critical juncture was rendered still more dangerous to Francis by the defection of the constable of Bourbon, a prince of the blood royal, and one of the ablest generals of his age, who being dispossessed of his vast estates, in consequence of an unjust law suit instituted against him by the queen-dowager, in revenge of his slighting her proposals of marriage, abandoned France and engaged in the service of the emperor. The confederated powers now concerted a plan for invading France from Germany, Spain, and England, at the same time. All those different attacks were made; but the invaders were repelled in every quarter, and forced to evacuate the country.

17. These successes of the French were in a short time more than counterbalanced by their misfortunes in Italy. Francis having marched an army over the Alps, made himself master of Milan. This success, however, was only a prelude to dreadful disasters, the baleful effects of his imprudence. Having undertaken the siege of Pavia, he inconsiderately weakened his army by sending a strong detachment to Naples, and another to Savona. The imperial generals Lannoy, Pescara, and Bourbon, with their united forces, advanced to the relief of the besieged city. This move-



ment ushered in the memorable battle of Pavia, which was fought on the 24th of February, A. D. 1525, and proved so disastrous to France. After a most obstinate and sanguinary conflict, the intrenchments of the French were forced by the Spaniards and Imperialists, and their army was totally routed. The king having his horse killed under him, was surrounded by his enemies. Although on foot, and wounded in several places, he defended himself with the most heroic valour against numerous assailants, till at length, being quite exhausted, he was obliged to surrender himself prisoner, and was conveyed into Spain, where the emperor at that time resided. In a letter which he wrote to his mother soon after this disaster, he expressed himself in these words: "Madame, every thing is lost except our honour."

18. The disastrous issue of the battle of Pavia filled France with consternation. The king of England and the princes of Italy also began to be alarmed at the exorbitant power of Charles V. and to turn their attention to the political balance of Europe. Negotiations were commenced between the French monarch and the emperor, but were protracted by various objections and difficulties. Francis, however, at length, on the 14th of January, 1526, signed a treaty, the conditions of which he never intended to fulfil; and thus having obtained his liberty, after nearly eleven months of tedious confinement at Madrid and other places, he returned into his own kingdom.)

19. The refusal of the French king to adhere to the stipulations of this treaty exasperated the

emperor; and the wars between these two princes being renewed, continued with little interruption during the whole of this reign. These contests, however, produced no important effects on the power or the politics of France; but they prevented Charles V. from carrying into execution the project of universal monarchy, which he is supposed to have formed.

20. Francis I. died A. D. 1547, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign, which was marked by great misfortunes and an enormous expenditure of blood and of money. A restless ambition and enterprising spirit were prominent traits in his character. In personal valour he could not be excelled; but it is unnecessary to bring forwards any other instance than that of his conduct previous to the battle of Pavia, to show that although he possessed in the most eminent degree all the qualifications of the soldier, he was deficient in those of the general. His mind, indeed, was strongly tinctured with the spirit of chivalry, and his conduct was not always directed by sound policy. In personal courage he was apparently superior to his great rival Charles V. but in political sagacity, he was certainly his inferior. Montluc, a French historian, observes, that "the ambition of those two princes was the ruin of a million of families." What a picture is here exhibited of the miseries which wars bring upon mankind?

21. The disposition of Francis is represented as generous and humane; but it is evident that he was always ready to sacrifice the happiness of his

subjects to his own glory. (And his persecution of the Protestants, whose doctrines had begun to make some progress in France, must appear in the eyes of an enlightened posterity as no small stain on his memory; but religious bigotry and intolerance were the unhappy characteristics of that age.

22. But Francis I. was the patron of learning, and under this title, his character shines with distinguished lustre. Providence had placed his reign in the happy period of the revival of letters, and seizing an opportunity so favourable to his future fame, he shared with pope Leo X. the glory of making arts, sciences, and literature flourish. The revival of letters, by enlarging the minds and extending the ideas of men, multiplied their wants, and gave an impulse to commerce, of which Francis was also the patron and promoter, and amidst the martial transactions that occupied his reign, the silk manufacture was established in France, which afterwards proved a source of wealth to the kingdom. In fine, the revival of learning, the extension of commerce, and the splendour of his court, in conjunction with his martial exploits, rendered the reign of Francis I. conspicuous in history.

24. This prince was succeeded by his son Henry II. whose whole reign was spent in a continuation of the war against Charles V. and Philip II. his successor in the kingdom of Spain. England having at length been drawn into the quarrel by Philip II. of Spain, the duke of Guise made himself master of Calais, the last remnant of the English possessions in France. This important



conquest took place A. D. 1558, after Calais had been two hundred and eleven years in the hands of the English, since its surrender to Edward III.

24. The conquest or rather the recovery of Calais was the last important transaction of a military nature that marked the reign of Henry II. In the following year he issued an edict which must be considered as an eternal stain on his memory: it inflicted the penalty of death against dissenters from the church, with a strict order to the judges "not to mitigate the punishment as had hitherto been the practice." This reign was also distinguished by the first edict that ever was published for fixing the limits of Paris, which was now grown so large a city, that the government considered its further extension as prejudicial to the rest of the kingdom.

25. (Henry II. was accidentally killed at a tournament, A. D. 1559. amidst the entertainments occasioned by the marriage of his daughter with Philip II. king of Spain, and of his sister with the duke of Savoy.) His tragical death happened in the forty-second year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. His character is not marked by any distinguishing trait; but he had either the sagacity or the good fortune to choose able ministers and generals.

26. The short reign of his son Francis II. was not marked by any important event; but it was pregnant with evils, which in the succeeding reigns convulsed and desolated France. This prince was married to Mary, daughter of James V. king of Scotland, afterwards designated by the title of "Queen of Scots;" whose beauty and mis-

fortunes are celebrated in English history and in dramatic poetry. Francis, duke of Guise, and his brother the cardinal of Lorraine, the queen's uncles, were placed at the head of the administration. Against the Guises, the king of Navarre and the prince of Conde had influence sufficient to form a party; and the ambitious grandees fomented those divisions with a view of profiting by the public calamities. The doctrines of the reformers had now, in spite of persecution, become generally diffused throughout the kingdom, and religion was a specious pretext used by both parties. The Guises pretending an ardent zeal for the ancient mode of worship, to which the body of the nation still adhered, found means to maintain their influence and authority, while the princes of the blood endeavoured by encouraging the love of novelty to supply the want of power. France was therefore in the reign of this monarch a hot-bed of mischiefs the plants of which were matured under those of his successors.

27. Francis II. died A. D. 1560, in the eighteenth year of his age, after a reign of seventeen months, and was succeeded by his brother Charles IX. who was only ten years old at his accession. Four civil wars, and the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew, form the melancholy history of his reign. During his minority the administration of public affairs was in the hands of his mother; but the duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal still preserved their influence.

28. The first civil war between the Catholics and the Protestants, who were then called Hugue-

nots commenced, A. D. 1562. To detail the various causes or rather pretext of these wars, or even to particularise their operations, would lead to a tedious prolixity. The principal events alone can therefore be comprised within the limits of these historical sketches. The prince of Conde being declared commander in chief of the Protestants, commenced his operations by the surprise of Orleans. Others of their generals possessed themselves of several other cities and towns, particularly of Rouen, where the king of Navarre was mortally wounded in the trenches before the place, and soon after died. In the same year was fought the battle of Dreux, in which both the prince of Conde, and the constable of Montmorency, the Catholic general, were taken prisoners, and the duke of Guise gained a complete victory over the Protestants. The duke was now in the zenith of his greatness, but having in the following year laid siege to Orleans, he was assassinated by a wretched fanatic of the name of Poltrot. The same year a peace was concluded on terms very favorable to the Huguenot party.

29. The war broke out again, A. D. 1567, and in the same year was fought the battle of St. Denis, with so doubtful an issue that both sides claimed the victory; but the Catholics sustained a severe loss in the death of their general Anne de Montmorenci, constable of France, who, although seventy-four years of age, had on this as on many other occasions displayed an extraordinary courage, and did not fall until he had received eight mortal wounds.



30. A treaty of peace was concluded A. D. 1568: but before the end of the year the war was renewed. The following year was distinguished by the bloody battle of Yarnac in which the duke of Anjou totally defeated the Protestants commanded by the prince of Conde, who here terminated his restless and ambitious career. The tragical end of this great commander and prince of the blood is worthy of particular notice. Although one of his legs was broken at the moment when the action commenced, he still kept the field, until after having received several other severe wounds he was at length taken prisoner. He was now so weak and exhausted by loss of blood and fatigue, that two officers took him in their arms off his horse and carried him under a bush; but the baron de Montesquieu, captain of the guards to the duke of Anjou, coming up shot him through the head. Henry prince of Bearn, afterwards Henry IV. was now declared the head of the Protestant party, but on account of his youth, the admiral de Coligni was the acting commander. On the 3d of October 1569, the Protestants were again defeated in the sanguinary conflict of Monteontour by the duke of Anjou. In the following year a third treaty of peace was concluded, and many advantages were granted to the Protestant party.

31. But this deceitful calm was the harbinger of a dreadful storm which soon fell on the devoted heads of the Huguenots. In order to lull them into a greater security, the court proposed a marriage between Margaret, the king's sister, and

Henry, prince of Bearn, son of the queen of Navarre, and at the same time pretended to make preparations for a war against Spain.

32. The admiral de Coligni was drawn to Paris by the vast preparations for war, the king having promised him the command of an expedition against the Netherlands. The queen of Navarre also came to attend the nuptials of her son; but she died soon after her arrival. On her demise her son Henry took the title of king of Navarre; and his marriage with Margaret, sister of Charles IX. was soon after solemnised. How agreeable would it be to the feelings of humanity, if impartial history could draw a veil over the horrible scenes which followed, and that time could bury them in eternal oblivion!

33. But posterity can never forget the horrid massacre of the Huguenots at Paris, on the feast of St. Bartholomew, A. D. 1572; an execrable transaction which never has and it may be hoped will never have its parallel. The chiefs of the party being allured to that capital by the friendly professions of the court, were in that fatal night most cruelly murdered. There fell on this lamentable occasion, near five hundred persons of note, amongst whom was the celebrated admiral de Coligni, whose abilities and virtues have rendered his name immortal in history. The king of Navarre and the prince of Conde saved their lives by recantation. The number of victims has never been ascertained: but it is supposed, that in Paris alone, they amounted to almost ten thousand of every age, sex, and condition: and the orders of the court

being sent to all parts of the kingdom, a similar carnage took place in several other places. History, however, in relating these horrid transactions, affords us pleasure in recording, that there were some governors of cities and provinces who were shocked at the idea of promoting the cause of religion by murder, and had the humanity and courage not to execute those detestable orders. To these men, whose conduct was an honour to the species, statues ought to have been erected in commemoration of their merit. †

34. The Huguenots now seemed to be entirely crushed; yet they collected sufficient force to commence, in the following year, a fourth civil war. Hostilities were soon terminated by a treaty of peace, which shewed the weakness of the government, and the strength of the Protestants, after all the endeavors that had been used to accomplish their destruction.

35. Soon after the Bartholomew massacre, Charles IX. fell into a lingering disorder, of which he died, A. D. 1574, in the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign. (His character seems to have resembled that of Nero: like that Roman emperor, he was violent and impetuous in his temper, and cruel in his disposition: like him, he took a delight in the softer arts, which tend to humanise the mind: he encouraged learning, and his poetical talents were far from being contemptible; qualities which would appear incompatible with the crimes committed by his orders, if history did not furnish various instances of a similar nature. †) If any excuse can be



found for his conduct, it must be drawn from his youth and want of experience, which rendered him unable to steer a right course, amidst the intrigues of evil counsellors and ambitious subjects, who were continually raising tempests in the state. After all, however, that his apologists can advance in his favor, the Bartholomew massacre has branded his name with eternal infamy.

36. During the reign of this prince, the royal authority was greatly impaired by the intestine broils which agitated the kingdom. Many good laws, however, were enacted, and many regulations were made, that have been highly conducive to the public welfare. For these, France was indebted to the chancellor de l'Hopital, a magistrate and civilian above all praise, who watched over the safety of the country, and in the midst of civil commotions, caused the venerable majesty of the laws to be respected.

37. Charles IX. leaving no legitimate male issue, was succeeded by his brother, Henry III. formerly duke of Anjou, who had in the preceding year been elected to the crown of Poland, but now returned to take possession of his patrimonial inheritance. This prince was no sooner seated on the throne of France, than he renewed the war with the Huguenots, who had the young prince of Conde, and the mareschal D'Anville at their head; but the duke d'Alencon soon joined them, and took the command of their forces. The king of Navarre having escaped from Paris, also repaired to the army, and again made profession of the Protestant religion. The war was carried on with va-

rious success, but without any important events: and in the year 1576, a treaty of peace was concluded, the most advantageous that the Protestants had hitherto obtained.

38. This pacification exasperated the Catholics, and gave rise to the famous confederacy known by the name of the "Holy League." Its purport was to prevent the exercise of any other mode of worship than that of the Catholic religion; and it was signed by the king, the duke of Anjou, Henry duke of Guise, and a number of other princes and nobles. This confederacy was, in fact, a declaration of war against the Huguenots, and hostilities immediately recommenced. The king however, soon found, that the league was no longer under his controul, (but under that of the duke of Guise, by whom its formation had been chiefly promoted.)

39. The death of the duke of Anjou, A. D. 1584, having made the king of Navarre the presumptive heir of Henry III. furnished the duke of Guise with a pretext for alarming the league with apprehensions of a successor to the crown, who was not of the Catholic religion. The dukes of Guise and Lorraine were now proclaimed lieutenant-generals of the confederacy; and the king of Navarre, together with the prince of Conde, were declared incapable of the succession.

40. France was now divided into three great parties; and from the respective chiefs, this was called the war of the three Henries. Henry III. king of France, was at the head of the royalists; Henry, king of Navarre, commanded the Protestants; and Henry, duke of Guise, son of Francis

who was assassinated at the siege of Orleans, was chief of the league. The war was not marked by any important event, but the kingdom was violently agitated by these divisions.

41. In the year 1587, the supreme council of the league, called the council of sixteen, having formed a scheme for dethroning the king, intelligence was given him of this design; but nothing could awake him out of his lethargy. The duke d'Epemon, however, found means to secure the Bastile and the arsenal, which the conspirators wanted to get into their possession; and the duke of Mayenne, being under apprehensions for his personal safety, withdrew from Paris. The king of Navarre having marched into Burgundy to join a body of German auxiliaries, the duke de Joyeuse, in order to prevent this junction, resolved to hazard a battle. The king of Navarre gained the victory; and the duke de Joyeuse lost his life, being murdered in cold blood after he was made prisoner. But these losses of the leaguers were compensated by the successes of the duke of Guise, who defeated and dispersed the German troops, and at last drove them out of France.

42. At this juncture, the council of sixteen pressed the duke of Guise to advance to Paris; but the king forbade him to set foot in that city. The duke, however, in spite of this prohibition, entered the capital with a strong escort; and the king's troops were obliged to give way to the rebels. Henry III. now seeing himself surrounded with difficulties and dangers, retired to Chartres; and the duke of Guise being left in possession of



Paris, immediately seized on the Bastile and the arsenal. Through the influence of the dowager queen, Catharine de Medicis, a treaty of peace was concluded; and the king was induced to sign the edict of re-union, which provided that the crown should not devolve on a Protestant.

43. This was the season of ambitious intrigue. Catharine de Medicis, to whom all parties, whether Catholic or Protestant, had ever been equal, if she could only maintain her authority and influence, now seeing the king her son without issue, joined the duke of Guise, with the view of placing the crown on the head of her grandson, the duke of Lorraine, by the exclusion of the Bourbon branch of the royal family. The duke of Guise, who was evidently aspiring to the throne, endeavoured to convert to his own advantage, this disposition of the queen, without letting her perceive his design, which he carefully concealed from his friends as well as from his enemies. His professions to the pope, to the king of Spain, to the duke of Lorraine, to the cardinal de Bourbon, were all different; and these princes were promoting his views, while they imagined themselves to be pursuing their own interests.

44. The duke was now within a step of the throne. Being a man of consummate abilities, and the idol of the Parisians, he saw himself placed in circumstances nearly similar to those which enabled Pepin to establish a new dynasty. But his ambitious career was drawing towards a tragical termination. (Henry III.) in order to rid himself of so dangerous a subject, adopted a measure un-

worthy of a great monarch. The states-general being assembled at Blois, the duke of Guise, and his brother the cardinal, who were come to attend at the conferences, were assassinated by the king's orders.

42. This infamous action produced an effect very different from that which Henry had expected. The duke of Mayenne, brother to the duke of Guise, was received in Paris as the head of the league, with the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom of France: Henry III. was declared unworthy to reign, and his subjects were by a decree of the Sorbonne, released from their allegiance.

46. In this extremity, Henry seeing himself abandoned by his Catholic subjects, joined the king of Navarre and the Protestants; and having received a reinforcement of ten thousand Swiss, the two princes, with an army of above thirty thousand men, advanced to Paris, and invested that capital. While they were occupied in the siege, Henry III. was assassinated by James Clement, a Dominican friar, only twenty-two years of age. The duke of Mayenne, as well as his sister, the duchess of Montpensier, was strongly suspected of being concerned in the murder; but as the assassin was instantly massacred by the guards, his death prevented any farther discovery. The tragical death of this monarch, which happened on the 1st of August, A. D. 1589, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign, within less than nine months after the duke and the cardinal of Guise had been assassinated by his direction, may be regarded as a just retribution of

Providence, although no excuse can be found for the regicide.

47. The character of Henry III. seems to have altered with his situation; and he appeared to be worthy of a crown, until it came into his possession. While he was duke of Anjou, and commanded the armies of his brother, Charles IX. he acquired the reputation of a bold and successful warrior; but after he was seated on the throne, he distinguished himself only by his weakness and superstition. He established religious confraternities, and exposed himself in ridiculous processions, instead of promoting the cause of religion, by banishing licentiousness and debauchery from the court. His levity rendered him suspected both by Catholics and Protestants; and by a life equally superstitious and criminal, he drew upon himself the contempt of all parties. His fortune was not less singular than his character: he abandoned the crown of Poland, to which he had been elected; and he was driven by rebellion from the throne of France, which he inherited: he spent his whole life in making war against the Protestants, and at last he was murdered by the Catholics.

48. The turbulent reign of Henry III. although almost wholly consumed in civil wars, was productive of some benefits to the people. The commencement of the reign of Philip the Hardy, A. D. 1270, presents the first instance of letters of nobility granted to plebians. The practice gained ground under his successor, and in process of time became common. This custom introduced the sale of fiefs to the commons, an innovation in some



measure owing to the lords themselves, and encouraged by the kings, in the view of diminishing the power of the aristocracy. The nobles being impoverished by luxury, were desirous of selling a part, or sometimes the whole of their lands; and the commons, enriched by the gradual progress of commerce and industry, obtained in this reign the privilege of being purchasers of the estates; but without the titles or any feudal jurisdiction. And an ordinance was published, declaring that nobility could be acquired only by letters patent from the king, or by the possession of certain offices and employments. Thus a great part of the land of the kingdom passed into the hands of the commons, without transferring to their new possessors the dangerous powers of the ancient aristocracy, a circumstance equally advantageous to the crown, and beneficial to the people. And here the accurate observer cannot but perceive, that the kings of France and of England, and indeed most of the princes of Europe, adopted the same measures,—the enfranchisement of villains, the institution of corporations with charters of privileges and immunities, together with the enacting of laws authorising the nobles to sell, and the commons to purchase landed property, in order to undermine and weaken the feudal system, and augment the power of the crown, as well as to render the people more happy. But it must at the same time be observed, that all the efforts of sovereigns to accomplish this great purpose were ineffectual, until commerce and industry had raised the commons to a state of considerable affluence.

49. You have now, my dear Sir, been conducted through the tempestuous reigns of the princes of the house of Valois. In the portion of history which this letter presents to your view, you will readily perceive, that the civil wars between the Catholic and Protestant parties, form the most prominent feature. These intestine commotions have been ascribed to theological differences: but religion was only the pretext, ambition was the real cause from which they originated. / The grantees, desirous of regaining those powers which they had lost by the decline of the feudal system, considered the disputes concerning religion, as affording a favourable opportunity for accomplishing that purpose. A factious courtier had only to embrace the Protestant religion, and profess himself a leader of that party, to have an army at his disposal. / The Catholics and the Protestants were equally bigotted and fanatical; and being incapable of penetrating the designs of their chiefs, crowded to their standards, rushed into battle, and shed their blood, not for the glory of God and the interest of religion, as they foolishly imagined, but to promote the ambitious views of a Guise or a Conde, a duke d'Alencon, or a Catharine de Medicis. / Treason, perfidy, and murder, were the engines which both Catholics and Protestants used for the attainment of their objects. The assassination of Francis duke of Guise, by a Protestant fanatic; of Henry duke of Guise and his brother, by the command of Henry III. and of that monarch himself, by a Catholic bigot; without mentioning the murder of the prince of Conde,

and the duke de Joyeuse, in cold blood, when taken prisoners in battle; and above all, the horrid Bartholomew massacre, are shocking proofs, that no crime, however heinous, excited any scruple in either party. The recollection of these enormities is painful to humanity; but, unfortunately, they are not peculiar to France: England, and almost every other country, have had their days of persecution, religious intolerance, civil war, and rebellion. Happily the times are now changed; but a review of those scenes, occasioned by prostituting religion to secular purposes, however disgusting, is not uninteresting to the Christian and the moral philosopher. With sincere affection and esteem, I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,

Your's, &c.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

- 1.—What were the first measures of Lewis XI?
- 2.—Where, and by whom, was Lewis XI. confined as a prisoner?
- 3.—What treaty did Lewis XI. conclude with Edward IV. of England?
- 4.—How was the greatest part of his reign employed?
- 5.—What means did he use to depress the nobles?
- 6.—What system did he overturn?
- 7.—Where and when did Lewis XI. die?  
What means did he use to secure his authority, and prolong his existence?
- 8.—What was the character of Lewis XI?  
By what was his reign chiefly distinguished?
- 9.—What enterprise gave a brilliancy to the reign of Charles VIII?



What was the character of that prince?

10.—How was Lewis XII. duped out of the kingdom of Naples?

11.—By what remarkable circumstance is the financial history of his reign distinguished?

12.—Who succeeded Lewis XII?

13.—What was the original cause of the wars between Francis I. and Charles V?

14.—Where did the celebrated interview between Francis I. and Henry VIII. of England, take place?

15.—When did the wars between Francis and Charles begin? 1521

16.—

17.—Where and when was Francis taken prisoner? 1547

18.—How long was Francis a prisoner in Spain?

19.—What did the wars between France and Charles prevent the latter from executing?

20.—What was the military character of Francis I?  
What comparison may be made between him and Charles V?

21.—What is the chief stain on his memory?

22.—Under what title does the character of Francis shine with the greatest lustre?

23.—In the reign of what king of France was Calais taken from the English?

24.—Who inflicted the penalty of death on those who dissented from the church?

In what reign was the first edict for fixing the limits of Paris?

25.—How did Henry II. terminate his life?

26.—Who was the consort of Francis II?

What might France be called during the short reign of Francis II?

27.—What events marked the reign of Charles IX?

28.—When did the first war between the Catholics and the Huguenots begin? 1562

29.—Where, and in what year, did the constable, Anne de Montmorency, fall in battle? 1567

30.—In what battle did the prince of Conde fall?

31.—

32. \_\_\_\_\_
- 33.—In what year was the Bartholomew massacre? / 57  
Who deserved to have statues erected to their memory?
34. \_\_\_\_\_
- 35.—What was the character of Charles IX?  
To whom may he be compared?
- 36.—To whom was France indebted for the good laws enacted in the reign of Charles IX?
- 37.—By whom was Charles IX. succeeded?
- 38.—Under whose control was the league?
- 39.—Who was the presumptive heir to the crown?
- 40.—Into what parties was the French nation divided?
- 41.—How was the duke de Joyeuse killed?
- 42.—Who was left in possession of Paris?
- 43.—What were the views of Catharine de Medicis?  
What were the views of the duke of Guise?
- 44.—By whose order were the duke and the cardinal of Guise assassinated?
- 45.—Who was afterwards chief of the league?
- 46.—Where, and when, and by whom, was Henry III. assassinated?
- 47.—What was the character of Henry III?  
What were the singularities of his fortune?
- 48.—What were the measures adopted by the kings of France and other princes, for overturning the feudal system?  
What circumstances enabled them to accomplish that purpose?
- 49.—What was the pretext for the civil wars?  
What was the real cause?  
For what end did the Catholics and the Protestants shed their blood?

## LETTER X.

*Comprising a period of two hundred and three years, from A. D. 1589, to A. D. 1792.*

| Kings of France.                 | Cotemporary kings of England.                                                       |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Henry IV. surnamed<br>the Great. | Elizabeth, Queen.                                                                   |
|                                  | Kings of Great Britain.                                                             |
|                                  | James I.                                                                            |
| Lewis XIII.                      | James I.<br>Charles I.                                                              |
| Lewis XIV.                       | Charles I.<br>Charles II.<br>James II.<br>William III.<br>Anne, queen.<br>George I. |
| Lewis XV.                        | George I.<br>George II.<br>George III.                                              |
| Lewis XVI.                       | George III.                                                                         |

DEAR SIR,

YOU are now to commence the review of a period in which France, as well as England, made a rapid and extraordinary progress in science, letters, and commerce, and obtained a high repu-



tation in arts and in arms: The commencement of this period is marked by the accession of the house of Bourbon; which, after being expelled by a tremendous revolution, is now again seated on the throne, and the whole of its history is highly interesting to an Englishman.

1. The tragical exit of Henry III. which terminated the reign of the branch of Valois, left the king of Navarre legitimate heir to the crown of France. This prince, who ascended the throne by the name of Henry IV. was a descendant of Robert count of Clermont, the sixth son of St. Lewis. Robert had married the heiress of Bourbon; and the crown devolved, by legitimate succession, on his descendant, Henry IV. after being possessed, during the space of three hundred years, by the elder branches of the royal race.

2. Henry, however, was acknowledged as sovereign only by a part of the nation; and several of the nobles, with a considerable number of the troops, withdrew from his camp. The king, therefore, raised the siege of Paris, and retired into Normandy, where his army was reinforced by a body of English, which queen Elizabeth sent to his assistance. Having twice defeated the duke de Mayenne, he again laid siege to Paris; and the citizens, animated by their enthusiasm, sustained a most grievous famine with unshaken constancy. The king of Spain ordered the duke of Parma to march from the Netherlands to the relief of Paris; but his arrival would have been too late if Henry had been willing to take the city by assault, which he might easily have effected. Nothing, however,

could induce this benevolent prince to expose the capital of his kingdom to the risk of destruction. He retired at the approach of the Spaniards; and the duke of Parma having thrown supplies of troops and provisions into Paris, returned to the Netherlands.

3. The war continued with various success in almost every part of the kingdom. Henry was aided by Elizabeth of England, who courted the alliance of France, in order to counterbalance the formidable power of Spain. On the other hand, Philip II. supported the league with the view of placing the crown on the head of his daughter Isabella Eugenia, as the nearest relative of Henry III. Philip, in defiance of the Salique law, made this proposal to an assembly of the states convened at Paris; but it was rejected as contrary to the fundamental constitution of the kingdom.

4. Henry soon after entered into a conference with the leaguers; and seeing it impossible to become master of the kingdom by force, he resolved to renounce the Protestant religion, which was the only obstacle that stood in his way to the throne. He accordingly made his abjuration at St. Denis, on the 25th of July, A. D. 1593, and notified it to all the parliaments. The pope, however, at the instigation of Philip, raised various objections against granting him absolution; but his abjuration gave a finishing blow to the league, in spite of the opposition of Spain and Rome. The chiefs made their peace with the king: Paris opened her gates; the duke de Feria with the Spanish troops retired from the city and Henry entered

his capital amidst the acclamations of the people. Several of the rebellious nobles, particularly the dukes of Mayenne, Mercœur, Nemours, and Epernon, held out for some time but at length made their submission. The whole kingdom was united under its legitimate sovereign. And after a tedious train of negotiations, which were constantly impeded by the intrigues of the Spanish monarch, Henry at length received absolution from Rome.

5. In the same year 1595, Henry declared war against Spain. Hostilities were carried on with various success until A. D. 1598, when the peace of Vervins was concluded, on terms advantageous to France. And in that year also Henry IV. issued the edict of Nantes, which guaranteed to the the Protestants the free and full exercise of their religion.

6. Some writers affirm that Henry had formed the project of uniting all Europe in a grand confederacy, of which France was to be the head. But this appears to be a chimera. It seems, however, that towards the end of his reign, he was meditating some great design against Spain; but his tragical death buried his schemes in oblivion. \ This great monarch was assassinated while passing in his coach through the Rue de la Feronnerie at Paris. The duke d'Epemnon, and some other noblemen, were with him in the carriage; but the stroke was so sudden as to be unavoidable, and so fatal that he almost instantaneously expired. The regicide, whose name was Francis Ravillac, was immediately seized, and suffered the punishment due to so horrid a crime. )



7. Henry IV. deservedly surnamed the Great, was assassinated A. D. 1610, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-first of a glorious and beneficent reign. He was one of the greatest and best monarchs that ever swayed the sceptre of France. Equally qualified for the cabinet and the field, although aided by the counsels of the great Sully, he was his own minister and his own general. In him were united great frankness with profound policy, sublimity of sentiments with a most engaging simplicity of manners, and all the bravery of a soldier with the tenderest feelings of humanity. His declaration often repeated, that he had rather be without the possession of Paris than expose the city to the horrors of an assault, reflects glory on his memory; and his name is revered by every true Frenchman.

8. During the auspicious reign of Henry IV. France saw her desolated fields brought into cultivation; and the manufactures established in the time of Francis I. which the civil wars had nearly annihilated, began to revive. The silk manufacture attracted the particular attention of Henry, and he took every possible measure for its encouragement. In the reign of Francis I. it was introduced from Milan, and all the materials were brought from Italy. But silk-worms began afterwards to be reared in the southern provinces of France, and prospered exceedingly in the Lyonnois and Touraine. Henry introduced a great number of those beneficial insects from Spain, and caused books to be published concerning their management. The success of these measures answered

his most sanguine expectations; and the manufacturers of France were soon enabled to supply, not only the home consumption, which now began to be very great, but also a considerable exportation, which brought large sums of money into the kingdom. And in the latter part of this reign, about A. D. 1603, the French began to trade to India.

9. This age, however, was only the dawning of a brighter day, which was about to burst upon France, as well as upon England, and many other countries of Europe. Henry delighted in erecting new buildings, and making new parks and gardens: and the construction of the Pont Neuf in this reign contributed to the ornament as well as the conveniency of the capital. Paris, however, was very different then from what it is now: the town was not lighted; there were very few coaches; the streets were excessively dirty, and so infested with robbers, that by a regulation of the police, A. D. 1609, the theatres were obliged to be opened, during the winter, at half-past twelve, and the plays to be finished before half-past four, in order to preserve the inhabitants from the dangers to which they were exposed by returning home in the dark.)

10. Henry IV. was succeeded by his son Lewis XIII. who being only in the ninth year of his age, his mother, Mary de Medicis, was, by an ~~arret~~ <sup>arret</sup> of the parliament, constituted guardian of the king, and regent of the kingdom.) This princess changed the system of politics, and courted the alliance of Spain, which gave no small umbrage to the Protestant party. In the year 1612, a double marriage took place, between the king and Anne

of Austria, infanta of Spain, and between Elizabeth his sister, and the prince of Spain, afterwards Philip IV. The king, though only fourteen years of age, was declared capable of assuming the reins of government; but the queen mother, by her influence over her son, had the chief direction of public affairs. The prince of Conde, dissatisfied with her measures, had placed himself at the head of the malcontents; but a treaty was soon concluded, and an apparent reconciliation took place. The prince continuing his intrigues, was arrested by Mary de Medicis, at the instigation of her Italian favourite, the marshal d'Ancre; and his imprisonment was the signal for a civil war. The princes, and some of the chief nobility, retired from court, and erected the standard of rebellion. But the contest was not of long continuance. The king, by the advice of his favourite De Luines, ordered the arrest of the marshal, who, on making resistance, was killed at the entrance of the Louvre. His wife, the marchioness, being accused of sorcery, was tried and condemned to death by the Parliament. This lady being asked by what magical spell she had fascinated the queen mother, over whom she had acquired an absolute ascendancy, nobly replied, "By that superiority which a strong mind has always over a weak one." Mary de Medicis was exiled to Blois; the discontented princes and nobles laid down their arms, and the public tranquillity was restored.

11. But disputes of a more serious nature were about to commence. In the year 1621, the Protestants taking umbrage at some proceedings of



the court, and instigated by their leaders, the dukes de Rohan and Soubise, erected the standard of revolt. In a consultation, held at Rochelle, they came to the resolution of renouncing their allegiance, abolishing monarchy, and modelling France into a republic. But this vast project proved chimerical. The war, after continuing somewhat more than a year, was terminated by a treaty, in which the Huguenots obtained nothing more than a confirmation of the edict of Nantes.

12. About A. D. 1624, the celebrated cardinal Richelieu, gained a complete ascendancy over the king, began to make a conspicuous figure on the political theatre, and his transcendant genius, and resolute measures, soon gave to the government of France a new vigour. The grand objects of his policy, were to reduce the Huguenots, to weaken the house of Austria, and to subdue the refractory spirit of the French nobility; and in all these he completely succeeded.

13. In pursuance of these great designs, the cardinal began with the Huguenots, whom he resolved to deprive of the town of Rochelle, the bulwark of their power. On the 10th of August, A. D. 1627, the siege of that important place was commenced by the king in person, attended by the chief nobility of France. Lewis XIII. remained before the town until the 17th of February, and then returned to Paris, leaving to the cardinal the direction of the siege.

14. Richelieu, although an ecclesiastic, being now at the head of the army, shewed that his military skill was not inferior to his political sagacity.

The town was inclosed with lines of circumvallation, and closely blockaded on the land side. The English fleet, commanded by the duke of Buckingham, made several attempts for its relief; but its efforts were feeble and ineffectual. The citizens, however, being animated by religious enthusiasm; and abundantly provided with military stores, made a vigorous defence. And the cardinal, perceiving the reduction of Rochelle to be impossible while its communication with the sea remained open, attempted by several methods to shut up the harbour. At length he projected and completed a mole of a mile in length, across a gulph, into which the sea rushed with an impetuosity that seemed to bid defiance to any works that human ingenuity and labour could construct. The town was now completely blockaded by land and by sea; and the inhabitants, after suffering the horrible effects of a most dreadful famine, during a siege of fourteen months and eighteen days, were at last obliged to surrender, on condition of retaining the possession of their property, and the free exercise of their religion, but their fortifications were demolished. Thus was subdued a city which, for the space of almost two hundred years, had held at defiance the power of the sovereign; for the Rochellers, while Catholics, had erected the standard of revolt against Lewis XI. Charles VII, Lewis XII, and Francis I. and, after they became Protestants, had many times waged open war against Charles IX, Henry III, Henry IV, and Lewis XIII.

15. In several of the provinces the Huguenots

were still formidable, but their forces being repeatedly beaten, they found themselves unable to continue the struggle, and obtained a peace on terms as favorable as their circumstances could allow them to expect.) They were left in possession of their estates and their chattels; and of the free exercise of their religion, but were obliged to deliver up their fortified places and cautionary towns. Until the reduction of Rochelle, the Protestants of France had formed a sort "*imperium in imperio*," but after that event they no longer constituted a distinct body in the state.

16. The next grand object of cardinal Richelieu was to curtail the Austrian power. In this view he supported the Protestants of Germany after having reduced those of France, and in the beginning of the year 1631, a treaty of alliance was concluded between France and Sweden for the purpose of humbling the emperor. Pursuant to the conditions of this treaty, the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, took the field at the head of thirty thousand men, and Lewis XIII. supplied him with money to enable him to carry the war into the heart of Germany. On the 16th of November, in the following year 1632, the Swedish monarch was killed at the battle of Lutzen, in the thirty-eighth or thirty-ninth year of his age; but the treaty was renewed with his daughter and successor, the celebrated Christina.

17 While the war in Germany was carried on with great success by the Swedish generals Torstenson, Bannier, the duke of Saxe-Weimar, &c. whose names will long live in the annals of Europe,



Lewis XIII. declared war against Spain. This measure was in perfect conformity to the views of Richelieu, whose object was to humble both branches of the house of Austria. The war lasted thirteen years against the emperor, and twenty-five years against Spain, and neither the king of France, nor his minister the cardinal, lived to see its termination. Hostilities were carried on with extraordinary activity and vigour by the French and the Spaniards. In the second campaign A. D. 1636, the near approach of the Spanish army from the Netherlands caused great consternation in Paris, and a body of twenty thousand troops was raised chiefly amongst the domestics and apprentices of that metropolis. The duke of Orleans obliged the enemy to repass the Somme. And in 1639 the French had no less than six armies on foot in the Netherlands, on the frontiers of Champagne, in Languedoc, and in Italy. These formidable forces gave great activity to the operations of the war; but a detail of battles and sieges, now almost forgotten, would be tedious and uninteresting.

18. To relate the unceasing intrigues of the court during this reign, and the various conspiracies and revolts of the nobles against the minister, would lead to prolixity: it suffices to say, that Richelieu by his vigorous and sanguinary measures triumphed over all opposition. Amongst those who fell by the hand of the executioner, as victims to the safety or vengeance of the cardinal, the most distinguished were the marshal de Marillac, Henry de Montmorency, duke and peer and marshal of France, and the marquis of Cinq-

mars,) The duke de Bouillon, narrowly escaped the same fate, not to mention others of less note; and many were punished by imprisonment in the Bastile, by exile, or by fines and forfeitures. The authority which Lewis XI. had first acquired over the aristocracy, and his immediate successors preserved, had been in a great measure lost during the civil wars which had split the kingdom into factions; but the Huguenots being subdued, the refractory grandes were by the vigorous measures of Richelieu brought under submission to the sovereign authority.

19. Cardinal Richelieu died at Paris A. D. 1642, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He was one of the most distinguished statesmen that any age or country ever produced. Although the whole time of his administration was spent amidst foreign wars and domestic factions, commerce, literature, and arts obtained a great share of his attention. To his patronage the "Academie Francoise" owes its institution, and the French language that refinement which has contributed in no small degree to render it a general vehicle of communication throughout Europe. It is somewhat extraordinary that Lewis XIII. who always disliked him, and was jealous of his power, submitted implicitly to his direction, and that this minister was almost equally feared by the king whom he served, and the nobility whom he depressed. But the greatness of his designs, and his decisive mode of carrying them into execution, have gained him the admiration of posterity. The czar, Peter the Great; when he visited Paris, A. D.

1717, seeing the superb mausoleum of this minister in the Sorbonne, and being told it was that of Cardinal Richelieu, the view of so grand an object threw him into an enthusiastic rapture. He ran to the statue, and embracing it, exclaimed, "Oh! that thou wert yet living: I would give thee one half of my empire for governing the other." Such a monarch as Peter would undoubtedly have held in high estimation such a minister as Richelieu.

20. The death of the cardinal was followed within less than six months by that of Lewis XII. which happened the 14th of May, A. D. 1643, in the forty-second year of his age, and the very day on which he completed the thirtieth year of his reign. (This monarch was unsociable in his disposition, and reserved in his deportment. He possessed great personal courage, of which he exhibited unquestionable proofs on several occasions, and particularly at the siege of Rochelle. Although he had neither a lively imagination nor any taste for literature, his understanding and judgment were sound; but his natural abilities were eclipsed by the superior political talents of his minister.)

21. This monarch was succeeded by his son the celebrated Lewis XIV. who being a minor, not five years of age, was placed under the guardianship of his mother Anne of Austria, who was also constituted regent. The minority of this prince was disturbed by the factious spirit of the nobles: the contest with Spain and the emperor still continued; and France was ready to sink under the



double burden of a foreign war and a feeble administration. In the field, however, the French generals bravely supported the glory of their country; and on the 19th of May, only five days after the death of Lewis XIII. the duke d'Enguien, afterwards prince of Conde, gained the battle of Rocroy, in which the Spaniards sustained a greater loss than in any other action since the commencement of the war.

22. The queen-regent having chosen cardinal Mazarin for her chief minister, that consummate statesman, who was Richelieu's pupil, and followed his steps, succeeded in suppressing the factions of the court, and restoring the domestic tranquillity of the kingdom. He also directed the war against Spain and the emperor with extraordinary ability; and his plans were as ably executed by the French generals, particularly the duke d'Enguien and the celebrated marshal Turenne. At length, A. D. 1648, a peace was concluded at Munster with the emperor, and the empire, by which Alsace, with Metz, Toul, and Verdun, as well as Pignerol and Brisac, were ceded to France.

33. The war against Spain was still carried on with great vigour. But factions prevailed in the court of France, and discord distracted the kingdom. While cardinal Mazarin was increasing the power of the state; and laying the foundation of the future greatness of the monarch, his administration was far from being satisfactory to the grandees, who looked with a jealous eye on his authority. The prince de Conde, formerly duke d'Enguien, erected the standard of revolt; but be-

ing opposed by Turenne, he was at length constrained to throw himself into the arms of the Spaniards, and his military abilities long supported their declining cause. But while he distinguished himself at the head of the armies of Spain, Turenne, who commanded the forces of France, employed all his genius and skill in counteracting his plans, and in the plains of Flanders, these two celebrated opponents acquired immortal renown.

24. Lewis XIV. having attained to majority, his counsels were still directed by the cardinal, by whom he had been so well served. That sagacious minister raised up against Spain a new and formidable enemy, in forming a strict alliance with Cromwell, the English usurper. Dunkirk was taken by the French and English forces; and, according to treaty, delivered up to Cromwell. The Spanish fleets were every where defeated; and their galleons, laden with the riches of Mexico and Peru, were captured by the English. The court of Madrid being also engaged in a war with Portugal, found that Spain was utterly unable to contend with the united force of France and England. Negotiations were begun: the two ministers of France and Spain, cardinal Mazarin, and don Lewis de Haro, had an interview on the frontiers; and a war of twenty-five years duration, was terminated by the famous treaty of the Pyrenees, the condition of which confirmed to France the provinces of Alsace and Roussillon, and gave the hand of the infanta, with a large portion, to Lewis XIV. who at the same time solemnly renounced every succession that might devolve on him in right of this.

marriage. The prince of Conde was pardoned by Lewis, and reinstated in his honours and possessions.

25. The skilful and resolute conduct of Mazarin had rendered Lewis more absolute than any of his predecessors. The monarch himself possessed every quality that could flatter the pride, or conciliate the affections of his people; and the French nation submitted without murmuring, to the most violent stretches of arbitrary power. This enthusiastic loyalty, combined with the ambition of the prince, the industry and ingenuity of the people, and the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, rendered France, which had long been distracted and weakened by domestic factions; powerful and truly formidable to her neighbours. Colbert, a most active and able minister, put the finances into excellent order: enormous sums were raised for the service of the state; a navy was created, and a numerous army was supported, without oppressing the subject.

26. Conscious of his power and resources, Lewis XIV. was not long before he began to display that restless ambition, and insatiable thirst for glory, which so long disturbed the tranquillity of Europe. Reviving obsolete claims in direct contravention to former treaties, and particularly to that of the Pyrenees, he invaded the Spanish Netherlands; and in one campaign; A. D. 1667, reduced Charleroy, Aeth, Tournay, Furnes, Armentiers, Douay, and Lisle; and the celebrated Vauban was employed to fortify these towns, which were ceded to France by a treaty concluded the following year at Aix-la-Chapelle.



27. So early as the year 1662, Charles II. king of England, had sold Dunkirk to the French monarch for five millions of livres, and squandered away the money. Lewis afterwards concluded a secret treaty with that prince, and supplied his profusion by granting him an annual pension, thus attaching to his interests the rival who was the most able to obstruct his ambitious designs. The kings of France and England entered into an alliance, the object of which was the conquest of the United Provinces. On the 20th September, 1670, Lewis gave orders to the marshal de Crequi to enter Lorrain, which in a few days was subdued; and the duke being deprived of all his territories, took refuge in Germany.

28. The war commenced with great vigour by land and by sea. On the 28th May, 1672, the Dutch admiral De Ruyter, with ninety-one ships of the line, and forty-four frigates and fire-ships, engaged the combined fleets of France and England, consisting of a hundred and thirty sail, under the command of the duke of York, afterwards James II. and the admiral count d'Estrees. The conflict was terrible. The allies, however, had a trifling advantage, though the French had little share in the action; and De Ruyter retired to the coast of Holland.

29. The king of France, in the mean while, entered the Dutch territories with a hundred and twenty thousand choice troops, commanded by the ablest generals in the world. His progress was exceedingly rapid: Gueldres and Overijssel submitted to his arms: on the 25th of June, he enter-

ed Utrecht in triumph, and his troops advanced within nine miles of Amsterdam.

30. At this tremendous crisis, the inhabitants of Amsterdam showed the most determined spirit of resistance. Ships were stationed to guard the city by sea: the sluices were opened, the country was laid under water; and the fertile fields, with the numerous villas, and flourishing villages, were overwhelmed by the inundation. Resolving to preserve their independence, they even formed the design of migrating to their settlements in the East Indies, and erecting a new empire in the southern extremity of Asia. On examining the means which they possessed for executing this extraordinary project, they found they had in their harbours shipping sufficient for the transport of fifty thousand families. A favourable turn in their affairs, however, prevented the necessity of having recourse to that desperate expedient.

31. The Dutch having elevated to the dignity of stadtholder the young prince of Orange, afterwards William III. king of England, and given him the command of their forces, affairs began to assume a new aspect. The other states of Europe began to discover their jealousy of the exorbitant power of France, and both Spain and the emperor espoused the cause of Holland.

32. In the following year, 1673, three indecisive actions took place on the 28th of May, the 7th of June; and the 11th of August, between the Dutch admiral de Ruyter, and the combined fleets of France and England. The last of these engagements exceedingly obstinate, although neither

side sustained any very considerable loss. By land, the Dutch were more fortunate; for the prince of Orange, and the imperial general Montecuculli, obliged the French monarch to abandon all his conquests, and recal his forces from Holland.

33. A train of events which Lewis could not reverse, now began to obstruct his ambitious designs. The English parliament obliged Charles II. to conclude a treaty of peace with the Dutch, while the Spaniards and Imperialists augmented their forces. The French monarch, however, astonished all Europe by his exertions. In the campaign of 1674, he brought three large armies into the field; one in Flanders, one on the side of Germany, and a third on the frontiers of Spain; while he himself, with a fourth, reduced Franche Comte. In Flanders, a bloody but indecisive action was fought at Seneff; between the prince of Conde and the prince of Orange. The loss on both sides was nearly equal; and about twelve thousand men were left dead on the field, when night parted the combatants. In Germany marshal Turenne having routed the Imperialists at Mulhausen, desolated the Palatinate with fire and sword. (The elector,) beholding from his palace at Manheim two cities and twenty-five towns or villages in flames, challenged Turenne to a single combat. But the French general replied, that he could not accept such a challenge, without the permission of his sovereign. In history we often hear of such challenges; but unfortunately, some excuse is always found for their non-acceptance.



How desirable it would be that all wars should be decided in such a manner: what blood might be spared, and what miseries prevented!

24. The campaign of 1675 was fatal to the celebrated marshal Turenne, who was esteemed the ablest commander of the age. He was opposed on the side of Germany by his famous rival Montecuculli, and the most consummate skill was displayed in all their operations. At the moment when these two great generals were preparing for a full display of their abilities, in bringing the campaign to a decision, Turenne was killed by a cannon ball, when reconnoitring the enemy's position.)

35. The death of this great commander filled the French armies with consternation. His loss, however, was well supplied by the prince of Conde, and the marshal duke de Luxemburg. In the ensuing campaign, 1676, the French made themselves masters of Conde, Bouchaine, and Aire. They were still more successful by sea. The duke de Vivonne defeated the combined fleets of Holland and Spain in three different engagements, near the coast of Sicily: the second of these was rendered memorable by the death of the famous Dutch admiral de Ruyter: the last and most decisive was fought near Palermo: twelve of the largest of the enemy's ships were taken or destroyed, five thousand of their men were killed, and the French remained undisputed masters of the Mediterranean.

36. At the opening of the next campaign, 1667 the French monarch, attended by his brother, the duke of Orleans, and five marshals of France,

placed himself at the head of his army in Flanders, where he reduced Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer. The prince of Orange attempted the relief of St. Omer; but was defeated in a bloody battle at Mont Cassel, by the duke of Luxemburg. William, although possessed of great talents for war, was inferior in several respects to that consummate general. Before the end of the campaign, the French added Ypres and Ghent to their other conquests.

37. In the following year 1678, was concluded the treaty of Nimeguen, on terms prescribed by the French monarch. Besides other articles regarding the rest of the allies, Charleroi, Oudinarde, Aeth, Ghent, and Limburg, were restored to Spain. But Lewis retained possession of Franche Compte, and also of St. Omer; Cassel, Aire, Bouchaine, Douay, Valenciennes, Lisle and the other towns which has ever since constituted what is emphatically denominated the iron frontier. The duke of Lorraine chose rather to become a soldier of fortune, and command the imperial armies, than to have his territories restored on such conditions as Lewis proposed.

38. This war, and the treaty by which it was terminated, gave to [Lewis] a decided ascendancy over every other European potentate. His generals had shown themselves superior to those of every other nation; and his arms had humbled his most powerful neighbours.

39. The peace of Nimeguen only served to fan the ambition of the French monarch. He still kept up a formidable army; and acting as if he had been

the sole sovereign of Europe, he revived old titles and claims that were buried in remote antiquity, and made daily encroachments on the neighboring states. He divested the elector of Cologne, and the elector Palatine, of part of their territories. In a time of profound peace, and without any pretext for a quarrel, he seized the free city of Strasburg; and the celebrated Vauban having afterwards exerted all his skill in constructing new fortifications, rendered that place one of the strongest barriers of France.

40. Lewis XIV. also raised his marine to a degree of force that rendered it formidable to Europe. His fleet consisted of more than a hundred ships of the line, and was manned by above sixty thousand seamen. The magnificent port of Toulon was constructed at an enormous expense, and that of Brest was formed on a plan not less extensive. Although at peace with his neighbours, his naval forces were not permitted to remain inactive. The French squadrons were repeatedly sent out to clear the seas of the African pirates. They twice bombarded Algiers; and Lewis not only had the glory of humbling that predatory city, and compelling the Algerines to release all their Christian slaves, but also of subjecting Tunis and Tripoli to the same conditions.

41. The effects of his resentment were also felt by the Genoese, who were accused of selling gunpowder and bombs to the Algerines, and had further incurred his displeasure by building some gallies for the Spaniards. A fleet was in consequence sent from Toulon to bombard the city of



Genoa; and the doge was obliged to repair to Paris in his robes of state, accompanied by four of the principal senators, to supplicate the clemency of the French monarch.

42. The grandeur of Lewis XIV. and the power of France, were now at their height, when the nation sustained an irreparable loss in the death of the great Colbert. To that able minister, France owed the flourishing state of her commerce and manufactures, which were carried to so high a degree of perfection, and met with so extensive a sale in foreign countries, as to render all her neighbours in some measure her tributaries. The riches which trade brought into her bosom, enabled her monarch to support his expensive wars, to dazzle with his splendour all the nations of Europe, and to corrupt foreign courts, without distressing his subjects. Many of the most lucrative manufactures were carried on by the Protestants; who, having lost their political consequence, had turned their attention chiefly to trade, and found their industry and ingenuity rewarded by opulence. The edict of Nantes granted them the free exercise of their religion; and Colbert, who justly appreciated so useful a class of subjects, afforded them his protection and patronage. But after the death of that enlightened minister, Lewis XIV. revoked the edict of Nantes and the Protestants were exposed to an unjust and cruel persecution, which reduced great numbers of them to the necessity of abandoning their country.

43. From the conclusion of the peace of Nime-

guen, A. D. 1678, until the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685, France was in the acme of her prosperity. But the revocation of that edict, a measure equally unjust and impolitic, gave a death blow to her manufactures, which were the chief support of her extensive and multifarious commerce. In consequence of this infringement of their religious liberties, above half a million of Protestants, preferring expatriation to mental slavery, carried their industry and ingenuity into other countries, particularly to England, Holland, and Germany, to the great detriment of the manufacturing system of France, which continued in a state of decline during the remainder of this reign.

44. Although Lewis thus persecuted his Protestant subjects, he showed his contempt of the papal authority in his various disputes with the apostolic see, and his reiterated insults on the dignity of Innocent XI. who then filled the chair of St. Peter. On the most trifling occasions, and under the most unjust pretexts, he sent his ambassadors to Rome surrounded with guards; and by this display of military force, menacing the pontiff with further violence, obliged his holiness to comply with his arbitrary demands. And indeed he carried his contests with the Roman see as far as he possibly could, without separating the Gallican church entirely from its communion.

45. These repeated insults on the dignity of foreign states; joined to various encroachments on their territories roused the general resentment of Europe. A league for restraining the ambition of Lewis was formed at Ausburg, A. D. 1687,

by the emperor Leopold, the king of Spain, and the states-general: the kings of Denmark and Sweden, together with the duke of Savoy, soon after joined the confederacy; and the flames of war broke out afresh in Flanders and in Germany, on the frontiers of Spain, and in Italy.)

46. Lewis XIV. confiding in his vast resources, prepared to repel the storm which his ambition had raised. The French armies entering the Palatinate, devastated the whole country with fire and sword. The palace of the electors, at Manheim, was levelled with the ground; the tombs of those princes were burst open by the soldiery, and their venerable dust was scattered in the air. The horrors of destruction were extended to every part of the electorate. Men, women, and children, were driven in the severe season of winter to perish in the fields, while they beheld their houses reduced to ashes, their goods seized, and their possessions laid waste. If there be a God that will judge the world, (and who but fools will question the obvious and awful truth?) will he not call to a rigorous account those who wage war without necessity, as well as those who cruelly aggravate its horrors?

47. This barbarous expedient, by which the French monarch designed to strike terror into his enemies, did not answer the end he proposed. The Germanic body, united under the emperor, sent into the field three formidable armies, commanded by the duke of Lorrain, and the electors of Bavaria and Brandenburg; and during the campaign of 1689, the imperial arms were in general victorious. England also acceded to the confede-



racy of Augsbourg, Lewis XIV. having espoused the cause of the abdicated monarch James II. excited the resentment of William III. and in some measure obliged him to join the allies.)

48. In the following campaign, 1690, the arms of France were more successful. In Italy, marshal Catinat, who, being brought up to the law, had quitted that profession, and risen to the highest military rank by his merit, united in his character the fire of the hero with the coolness of the philosopher, and showed himself every where superior to his antagonist, Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who was esteemed an able commander. In Flanders, the marshal duke of Luxemburg, by his intuitive genius, his enterprising courage, and his consummate skill, chained victory to the standards of France. Being joined by marshal Boufflers, he gained a complete but bloody victory over the Dutch and Spaniards under the prince of Waldec, who left above seven thousand dead on the field. The death of the duke of Lorrain, the imperial general, paralyzed the operations of the allies on the side of Germany.

49. In the mean while the French admiral Tourville gained off Beachy Head a victory over the combined fleets of England and Holland, commanded by the earl of Torrington and admiral Evertzen. The allies lost eight ships of the line, and many others were rendered totally unfit for service. This action showed the exertions which Lewis XIV. had made in raising his navy: the allies were inferior to Tourville, both in the number and size of the vessels: the French ships were al-

so extremely well manned; their fire was regular and rapid, and their manœuvres were skilful as well as expeditiously performed.

50. In the following year, 1691, the king of England put himself at the head of the confederate army. But Lewis, in person, having taken Mons, the summer passed without any other important event in Flanders. In Italy, the progress of marshal Catinat was checked by that consummate general prince Eugene of Savoy; and the war was carried on with languor in Germany.

51. The kings of France and England joined their armies early in the spring of 1692; and the highest expectations were formed on both sides. Lewis invested Namur, while the duke of Luxemburg covered the siege. The town, which is situated at the confluence of the Sambre and the Maese, was exceedingly strong, the citadel was deemed impregnable; and the garrison consisted of ten thousand select troops. The attacks were directed by the famous engineer Vauban, while his scarcely less celebrated rival Coehorn defended one of the principal forts. The king of England, with an army of eighty thousand men advanced to his relief; but all his efforts were baffled by the genius of Luxemburg, and that important place was obliged to surrender to the arms of France.

52. William, however, soon after attacked marshal Luxemburg at Steenkirk; but the British columns, not being supported by the Dutch, were almost entirely cut to pieces. The battle lasted only two hours: the loss was nearly equal, amounting to about ten thousand men on each side; but the French gained the victory.

53. The naval power of France received a fatal blow this year at the memorable battle of La Hogue. Lewis having projected an invasion of England, in order to overturn the throne of William, by supporting the adherents of James, an army of twenty thousand men was assembled on the coast of Bretagne: transports were collected at Brest; and every thing was ready for the embarkation of the troops. The Toulon fleet commanded by the count d'Etrees, was to join that off Brest under admiral Tourville, in order to conduct the army to England, and favour its descent; but the execution of this plan was prevented by contrary winds.

54. The British admiral Russel having effected a junction with a Dutch squadron, attacked Tourville off Cape la Hogue. The French fleet consisted of sixty-three, and the English of ninety-nine sail of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. The conflict was obstinate and sanguinary. On both sides great courage and skill were displayed; but at length superiority of force gave the victory to the English and Dutch; fifteen French ships of the line were burned or otherwise destroyed; and the maritime power of Lewis XIV. was entirely broken.

55. Success, however, crowned the efforts of the French monarch by land. The following campaign of 1693 was distinguished by the sanguinary battle of Neerwinden. The French attacked the allies, under the king of England, in their fortified camp, in a position exceedingly strong, with a hundred pieces of cannon in front of their line.



William displayed extraordinary courage; but his talents and skill sunk before the military genius of Luxemburg. The allies were totally defeated, and compelled to retire in great confusion, leaving behind them twelve thousand dead on the field, and two thousand prisoners: sixty pieces of artillery, eight mortars, with eighty standards, fell into the hands of the French. (But the duke of Luxemburg, although completely victorious, gained little besides glory: he had eight thousand men killed; and his army was so much weakened by the number of wounded, that the reduction of Charleroi was his only considerable achievement during the remainder of the campaign.

56. In Germany, the French tarnished, by their cruelty, the glory of their arms. Having taken Heidelberg by storm, they put the garrison and the inhabitants indiscriminately to the sword; and humanity would shudder at a recital of the deeds of blood and rapine that took place. Such are the calamities which war too often inflicts on the peaceable and industrious part of mankind. In Piedmont marshal Catinat defeated the famous prince Eugene, and bravely supported the reputation of the French arms.

57. Early in the spring of 1694 the king of England appeared in Flanders at the head of a numerous and well appointed army; but the superior genius of Luxemburg, with a force much inferior, baffled all his efforts, and prevented him from gaining any important advantage. On the side of Spain the war was carried on with great vigour by marshal Noailles, who defeated the Spanish army in

Catalonia, and made himself master of Ostalric and Gironne.

58. Before the opening of the next campaign Lewis XIV. sustained an irreparable loss in the death of the marshal duke of Luxemburg, (one of the most enterprising and skilful of those great generals who had rendered France the terror of Europe.) This event inspired the allies with fresh hopes, and excited them to make more vigorous efforts. Lewis, therefore, having placed marshal Villeroy at the head of his principal army in Flanders, and entrusted the second to marshal Boufflers resolved to act only on the defensive. The king of England, finding himself at the head of a powerful army, reduced Namur in the sight of Villeroy, although marshal Boufflers, who had thrown himself into the place, made a most vigorous defence. The French monarch retaliated on the confederates by ordering Villeroy to bombard Brussels; and a great part of that fine city was laid in ruins.

59. The campaign of 1696 was not productive of any important event. All the belligerent powers, except the king of Spain and the emperor, were weary of the war. But the reduction of Barcelona by the marshal the duke de Vendome, induced his Catholic majesty to listen to the proposals of the French monarch: and the emperor Leopold, being abandoned by all his allies, at length found himself under the necessity of acceding to the treaty of peace, which was concluded the following year, (1697,) at Ryswick. The principal articles of this treaty were, that the duchy of Luxem-

burg, with Charleroi, Mons, Aeth, and Courtray, as well as all the French conquests in Catalonia, should be restored to Spain; that Friburg, Brisgaw, and Philipsburg should be ceded to the emperor; that the duchies of Lorrain and Bar should be restored to their native princes; and that the French monarch should acknowledge William III. as king of Great Britain and Ireland.

60. In this contest with most of the powers of Europe, France had not sustained much loss in regard to territory; but her power was considerably diminished. Her commerce was destroyed, her manufactures languished; and her people were in misery and want. Lewis XIV. still maintained the pomp and splendour of his court, which continued to dazzle the eyes of Europe; but his greatness and glory, which had once risen to so conspicuous a height, were evidently on the decline.

61. The disastrous war which Lewis undertook in order to establish his grandson Philip, duke of Anjou, on the throne of Spain, completely exhausted the resources of France, and rendered the latter part of his reign as unhappy as its middle period had been fortunate and glorious. On the death of the Spanish monarch, Charles II. A. D. 1700, Lewis caused the duke of Anjou to be proclaimed sole heir to all the dominions of Spain, to the total exclusion of the house of Austria, which had equal pretensions to the inheritance, and in direct contravention to the partition treaty which he himself had concluded with the king of England and the states-general. This proceeding involved him in a war with the emperor Leopold, who, after



some hesitation, resolved to support the claim of his son the archduke Charles; and both England and the states-general entered into the famous league, known in history by the name of the triple alliance, in order to prevent this exorbitant aggrandisement of the house of Bourbon, which now appeared so dangerous to all the other powers of Europe. /

62. A circumstantial detail, or even a bare enumeration, of all the operations of a war so extensive and of so long duration, would greatly exceed the limits of this epistolary correspondence. Numerous and formidable armies were brought into the field, and hostilities were carried on with great vigour, but generally to the disadvantage of the French. The English and imperial generals Marlborough and prince Eugene, acting in concert gained many important victories. In the battle of Blenheim, fought on the 13th of August, A. D. (1704) the French and their Bavarian allies lost twelve thousand men, killed or drowned in the Danube, besides thirteen thousand prisoners amongst whom was marshal Tallard, their commander. In the battle of Ramilies, on Whitsunday, A. D. (1706) they were again defeated, with the loss of eight thousand killed and wounded, and six thousand prisoners, with a hundred pieces of cannon. This important victory rendered the duke of Marlborough master of the greatest part of the Netherlands, and filled Paris with consternation. 2

63. In Spain the war had hitherto been carried on with various success. The French and Austrian kings of that country, Philip and Charles,

alternately possessed and abandoned the capital. But the battle of Almanza turned the scale decisively in favour of Philip. In that action, which took place on the 14th of April, [1707,] the combined English and Portuguese armies were totally defeated by the duke of Berwick, with the loss of five thousand killed and wounded, and ten thousand prisoners. And in consequence of this victory, the provinces of Valencia and Saragossa, as well as the capital, were wrested from Charles and brought under the sceptre of Philip

64. These important successes were counter-balanced by the losses which the French sustained in the Netherlands. They were beaten at Oudenarde; and Lisle, notwithstanding its memorable defence by marshal Boufflers, surrendered to the allies under Eugene and Marlborough. On the [11th of September] those two generals attacked the French in their entrenchments at Malplaquet, near Mons, and gained the victory, although with great loss; but marshal Boufflers acquired immortal honour by his masterly retreat. Not less than ten thousand of the French fell in that obstinate and sanguinary conflict; but the allies are said to have lost near double that number. Mons soon after surrendered; and Eugene and Marlborough, being masters of the Netherlands, had scarcely any thing to prevent them from marching to Paris.

65. The French monarch now seeing himself on the brink of ruin, wished to purchase peace on almost any conditions. He offered to resign the whole Spanish empire to the house of Austria, and to furnish a sum of money towards dethron-

ing his grandson, besides several other proposals extremely favourable to the emperor, to England, and to Holland. These offers, however, were rejected; and Lewis was obliged to continue the war.

66. With the renewal of hostilities, the ill-fortune of the French monarch returned. But when his affairs seemed desperate, the sudden death of the emperor Joseph, by which the imperial crown devolved on his brother Charles, the competitor of Philip for the sceptre of Spain, and a change of ministry in England, saved him from the ruin by which he was menaced. / This favourable coincidence ushered in the peace of Utrecht, which was concluded A. D. 1713, between the house of Bourbon and all the confederate powers, except the emperor. Philip V. was acknowledged king of Spain; and, on that condition, renounced for himself and his descendants all right of succession to the French crown. In the following year the emperor acceded to the treaty, by which he obtained possession of the Spanish Netherlands.

67. After all his ambitious projects, Lewis XIV. ended his life in peace. He died on the 1st of September, A. D. 1715, when he wanted only four days of completing the seventy-seventh year of his age; and his reign of seventy-two years, three months, and seventeen days, is probably the longest that ever any monarch enjoyed. The French have honoured his name with the epithet of Great; but his actions and character appear to have been considerably overrated by the historians of his own nation, who have lavished on him the



most extravagant eulogiums, and compared his achievements to those of the most celebrated heroes of antiquity. He was of a good stature, and an athletic frame, possessing great strength and agility; his features were regular, his countenance was majestic, and in every respect he was one of the handsomest men of his time. The qualities of his mind are said to have harmonized with his graceful exterior; but he was never placed in such situations as could furnish a just criterion for estimating his abilities either as a politician or a warrior. All the brilliant achievements of his reign were performed by his ministers and generals; but it must be confessed that his judicious choice of these, affords a strong proof of his sound understanding and political sagacity. His generals were conspicuous for their military talents; and his ministers, Mazarin and Colbert, especially the latter, by an excellent management raised the commerce and marine of France to an extraordinary height. The transfer of the Spanish crown from the house of Austria to that of Bourbon was a grand scheme of policy, which gave rise to a family compact, and brought into close alliance the two kingdoms of France and Spain, which had so often exhausted each other's resources by bloody and expensive wars. That, indeed, was the greatest project that Lewis XIV. ever formed; but after bringing a train of miseries on France, it would certainly have failed, had not a critical coincidence of circumstances unexpectedly favoured its execution. And it is doubtful whether all the benefits which France ever derived from the family compact has

counterbalanced the injury that she sustained by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, a measure so prejudicial to the manufactures and trade of the kingdom, and so disgraceful to the memory of this monarch.

68. The despotism of the French monarchy, of which the foundations were laid by cardinal Richelieu, was completely established by Lewis XIV. and the reign of this prince exhibits, in regard to the extent of the royal authority, and the splendor of the regal title, a remarkable contrast with the times immediately preceding and following the accession of Hugh Capet. In those times the aristocracy possessed all the power of the kingdom, the king was only a pageant of state; but in the reign of Lewis XIV. the king was every thing: all the orders of subjects were nothing; and all the greatness and happiness of the nation was centered in the glory of the grand monarch.

69. But although the character of Lewis XIV. displays many blemishes, yet as a patron of sciences, letters and arts, his name is illustrious and will be immortal in history. His reign was the Augustan age of France: his court and his capital were the general resort of the learned, and the residence of genius. The royal palaces, especially that of Versailles, the facade of the Louvre, and the various embellishments which Paris and its environs received during his reign, are monuments of his magnificence. His ambition drew upon him the merited execration of Europe; but his patronage of talents and learning have thrown a lustre around his name, that can never be obscured by the enmity of prejudice, or the clouds of oblivion.

70. Lewis XIV. was succeeded by his grandson Lewis XV. (who was only in the sixth year of his age.) At first his minority was threatened with a repetition of those troubles by which France had been so often agitated during the non-age of her monarchs; but the talents of the regent the duke of Orleans maintained the internal tranquillity of the kingdom. Peace with foreign nations also continued; being only once interrupted by a short and insignificant war, which was undertaken in 1719 by France and England against Spain, and terminated in a single campaign.

71. Lewis XV. was declared of age A. D. 1722; and his attainment to majority was soon followed by the death of Philip, duke of Orleans, one of the most elegant, accomplished, and dissipated men of his time. He possessed great talents for government, and during his administration adopted many judicious measures. But as the ambition of Lewis XIV. had reduced France to a state of great misery, the regent deemed it necessary to make the people forget their calamities in a round of perpetual amusements and dissipation. This, with his own libertine example, rendered the court a scene of licentiousness, and introduced an universal corruption of manners; and the origin of that spirit of infidelity which pervaded France during the reign of Lewis XV. and his unfortunate successor, may be traced to the regency of the duke of Orleans.

72. The young king having chosen cardinal Fleury, a man far advanced in age and of a pacific disposition for his chief minister, France enjoyed



the blessings of peace during the first nineteen years of his majority, that happy season of tranquillity being only once interrupted by a short war with the emperor, which lasted little more than one campaign. By the treaty of peace which was concluded A. D. 1735, amongst other stipulations, France obtained the cession of the duchy of Lorrain. And the duke of Lorrain who was married to the archduchess Maria Theresa, afterwards queen of Bohemia and Hungary, a marriage by which he at length obtained the imperial crown, acquired the grand duchy of Tuscany in lieu of his hereditary dominions.

73. During this season of general tranquillity, France had in a great measure emerged from the miseries in which she was plunged at the end of the preceding reign, and was in a most flourishing state in regard to commerce and opulence, as well as to literature, sciences, and arts. But at length the dæmon of discord broke loose, and threw Europe into a flame. In the year 1741, Lewis XV. joined with the king of Prussia in attacking the young queen of Bohemia and Hungary, who had succeeded her father the emperor Charles VI. in all the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, in virtue of the pragmatic sanction which these princes had guaranteed. The French armies poured themselves into Bohemia, where the marshals Belleisle and Broglio acquired, by their military talents, a most distinguished reputation. These two celebrated generals being deserted by the king of Prussia, who had concluded a treaty with Maria Theresa, and surrounded by the su-

perior forces of Austria, were twice obliged to shut themselves up in Prague, where they were closely besieged. Broglio having at length escaped from Prague in disguise, in order to take the command of the army in the Palatinate, Belleisle after sustaining a vigorous siege, at length burst out of the city, and signalized his courage and conduct by a retreat, to which few parallels are found in the annals of war. In the mean while Great Britain having espoused the cause of the young queen of Hungary, George II. put himself at the head of his army, and on the 26th of June 1743 defeated marshal Noailles at the battle of Dettingen.

74. George II. had hitherto acted in Germany only as an auxiliary to the queen of Bohemia and Hungary. But Lewis XV. now declared war against Great Britain, which was already engaged in a contest with Spain. The first step of the court of Versailles was to encourage the young Pretender to make a descent in Scotland, an enterprise which exposed that adventurer to great hardships and dangers, and terminated in the ruin of his adherents. On the 30th of April, 1745, was fought the memorable battle of Fontenoy near Tournay, where the allied English, Austrian, Dutch, and Hanoverian armies, commanded by the duke of Cumberland, received a bloody defeat from the French, under marshal count Saxe, Lewis XV. and the dauphin being present at the action. The allies left about twelve thousand dead on the field, and the French lost nearly an equal number. But their victory gave them a decided

superiority in the Netherlands. They again defeated the allies at La Feldt, and after a siege of two months made themselves masters of Bergen-op-Zoom, a place until then deemed impregnable, being surrounded by morasses, which rendered it almost inaccessible, and defended by fortifications that were regarded as the master-piece of the famous engineer Coehorn. The reduction of this important fortress reduced the allies to the last extremity; but the triumphs of the French in the Netherlands were counterbalanced by their losses in Italy and on the ocean. On all sides indeed the war was an alternation of success and miscarriage, and the scales of advantage and loss were nearly equiponderant.

75. All the belligerent powers at length being weary of a war in which all were losers, a congress was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, and on the 7th of October, A. D. 1748, a general peace was concluded. France, Spain, and Great Britain agreed to a mutual restitution of their conquests, and after an enormous effusion of blood and expenditure of money, ended, like travellers moving in a circle, exactly at the point where they begun, a circumstance which shows more plainly than a volume of arguments the folly of war.

76. During the space of seven years Lewis XV. remained at peace with his neighbours. But the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle having left the boundaries of the French and English settlements in America undetermined, that circumstance gave rise to a new quarrel. The court of Versailles found a pretext for seizing all the country situated



on the shores of the great lakes and on the banks of the Ohio, and formed the design of constructing a line of forts from the river St. Lawrence to the Mississippi,—a plan which, if carried into execution, would have reduced the British settlements to a narrow slip of land along the coasts of the Atlantic. The opposition of the court of London to this project occasioned a new war between France and Great Britain, and in the year 1755 hostilities commenced with great vigour and activity. The operations of the two first campaigns were to the advantage of the French, who made themselves masters of the isle of Minorca, and of several English forts in America.

77. In the year 1759 hostilities were renewed between Austria and Prussia. France entered into an alliance with the former, and England with the latter. Russia, Sweden and Saxony also joined in a confederacy with Austria, and the flames of war were kindled throughout Germany. The French took possession of Hanover; but in the following year they were driven out of that electorate.

78. The scale of success now turned decidedly in favour of England. The British government subsidized the king of Prussia and several of the German princes, in order to oppose the French power on the continent. In the year 1758 the coasts of France were insulted by the English, who destroyed the shipping and stores in the neighbourhood of St. Maloes, and demolished the fortifications of Cherbourg. In America they also made themselves masters of Louisburg, and of the forts of Frontenac and Du Quesne. The French also

lost the islands of Senegal and Goree on the coast of Africa.

79. The following year, 1756, was still more disastrous to France. Guadaloupe, the richest of her sugar islands, was taken by the English. The French under general Montcalm were defeated by general Wolf, on the heights of Abraham, near Quebec. Both the French and English generals lost their lives in this action, the former being mortally wounded, the latter killed in the field, and both were equally regretted for their martial abilities by their respective armies. This defeat of the French was followed by the loss of Quebec. On the 18th of September, A.D. 1759, that city, the capital of Canada; surrendered to the English under brigadier general Townshend. In Germany the French were not more successful. At the battle of Minden, on the 31st of July; the same year, the grand army of France was repulsed in several repeated attacks by a few regiments of British infantry.

80. On the 7th of September, 1760, the town of Moutreal surrendered to the British arms. By the reduction of that place, general Amherst completed the conquest of Canada, and the subversion of the French empire in North America. This year was marked by the death of George II. king of Great Britain; but that circumstance did not relax the national energy. His successor, George III, called the whole force of his empire into action, and its efforts answered his most sanguine expectations. The French lost Pondicherry, the chief of their settlements in India; and the

island of Belleisle, near the coast of France, was compelled to surrender to a British armament.

81. In the beginning of the year 1762, a rupture took place between Great Britain and Spain, in which the former was invariably successful. But the misfortunes of Spain did not put a stop to those of France. The islands of Martinico, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, were taken by the English; and the French had every reason to apprehend their complete expulsion from the West Indies.

82. These misfortunes and losses induced the cabinets of Versailles and Madrid to make an unprovoked attack on Portugal; a kingdom, which, by reason of commercial connections, as well as political alliances, is always under the peculiar protection of Great Britain. This expedient had the intended effect of embarrassing the British government, which found it necessary to send considerable armaments to aid the Portuguese in repelling the invasion. But the marine and commerce of France, as well as of Spain, were almost annihilated by the loss of so many colonies, and the victories gained by the English fleets and squadrons; while the war in Germany was attended by such an alternation of success and disaster as caused its issue to appear exceedingly doubtful,

83. All parties now began to be desirous of putting an end to hostilities, and on the 16th of February, 1763, the kings of France and Spain concluded a treaty of peace with his Britannic majesty and the king of Portugal. France recovered the islands of Martinique, Guadaloupe, Marigalante,



and Deseada, but ceded to Great Britain all her possessions in North America, to the eastward of the Mississippi. In Africa, Goree was restored to France; but England retained Senegal. In India all the places lost by the French were restored, on condition that they should not maintain either forts or forces in Bengal. And in Germany as well as in Portugal, peace was concluded on the principle of mutual restitution. Excepting the contest for the Spanish succession, this was the most disastrous war that France had ever undertaken since the battle of Pavia.

84. The remainder of the reign of Lewis XV. passed in peace, with the exception of his enterprise against Corsica. The republic of Genoa, which had long pretended a right to the sovereignty of that island, being unable to subdue its warlike inhabitants, transferred the claim on certain conditions to France. Lewis sent an army to support his pretensions; and notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the Corsicans under their celebrated general Paoli, the island was reduced under subjection to the French sceptre. Lewis XV. died on the 10th of May, 1774, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-ninth of his reign. He resembled his grandfather Lewis XIV. in his stature, in the strength and agility of his frame, in his dexterity in horsemanship, and other athletic exercises, as well as in his majestic appearance. In regard to his character he was generous and benevolent, but like Lewis XIV. he was addicted to pleasure, and too liable to be influenced by mistresses and favourites.

85. Commerce, letters, and arts flourished exceedingly in France during this reign. Before the commencement of the war with Great Britain, A. D. 1755, France had almost engrossed the sugar trade, and also that of indigo. Her East India trade was in a most flourishing state, and her Turkey trade, as well as the fur trade of Canada, was extremely lucrative.

86. Literature, sciences, and arts also, were in a most flourishing state during the whole of this reign; and although the French had not any painter equal to Poussin, Le Sueur, and Le Brun, who adorned the age of Lewis XIV. they still maintained in sculpture a decided superiority over all the nations of Europe, excepting perhaps the Italians; but in science, they were equalled, if not excelled by the English, who also made continual approaches to them in literature. The impulse given in the reign of Lewis XIV. continued to operate during that of his successor. It would be tedious to enumerate all the great writers who, during those two reigns, shed a lustre on France. As the names of Moliere, Corneille, and Racine; of Pascal, Fenelon, Dacier, Bossuet, Boileau, &c. were the glory of the age of Lewis XIV. that of Lewis XV. was eminently distinguished by those of Voltaire and Rousseau; of Montagne, Fontenelle, De Guignes, D'Alembert, Dom. Calmet, Montesquieu, and Buffon, besides many others of great merit and eminence. Every one is acquainted with the seductive style of Voltaire and of Rousseau; but unhappily their writings are too much tinctured with infidelity. In Scriptural cri-

ticism, Dom. Calmet, was never excelled. Buffon, the philosophical painter of nature; and Montesquieu, the legislator of nations, are read in every language and country. In a word, the age of Lewis XIV. and that of Lewis XV. have produced almost all those distinguished works in the French language which we now so greatly admire.

87. Lewis XV. was succeeded by his grandson, the unfortunate Lewis XVI, who ascended the throne A. D. 1774, in the twentieth year of his age.) Being in the bloom of youth, at peace with all his neighbours, in alliance with Spain, and closely connected with Austria, this prince had every reason to promise himself a long, tranquil, and prosperous reign. Soon after his accession, he reduced the number of the royal guards, which were supported at a great expense, and made several other regulations that were highly beneficial to the public. In the second year of his reign, A. D. 1776, he showed his liberality of mind, in placing the celebrated M. Neckar, a Protestant, and a native of Switzerland, at the head of the finances, contrary to the former policy of France, which had constantly excluded the aliens of her country and faith, from the control of the revenue. The distinguished abilities of M. Neckar justified his appointment, and showed that the king had consulted the real interest of the state; and under this judicious minister a reform took place in every department of the finances. Lewis XVI. also shewed a regard for the interests of science; and actuated by a laudable zeal, he fitted out several vessels for the purpose of making



discoveries, and extending the limits of geographical and astronomical knowledge.

88. These were the halcyon days of Lewis XVI. of France, and of Europe. But the war which had commenced between Great Britain and her American colonies soon spread its baleful influence on both sides of the Atlantic. The Americans had long solicited succours from France; but Lewis XVI. hesitated to engage in a contest which presented so doubtful an aspect. The court was at that time divided into two parties. The count de Vergennes and M. Turgot strongly recommended a system of neutrality; but the war faction having, it is said, the queen at its head urged the expediency of seizing so favourable an opportunity of dismembering the British empire. The capture of general Burgoyne and his army at Saratoga, seemed to promise further success to the colonists, and fixed the wavering politics of the court of Versailles. A treaty of alliance was concluded on the 6th of February, 1778, between his most Christian majesty and the United States of America.

89. In consequence of this treaty, by which France was drawn into a war with Great Britain, the count D'Estaing, with an armament consisting of twelve ships of the line, and six frigates, having on board a strong body of land forces, sailed from Toulon for America. His destination was the Delaware (his aim was to seize on the British squadron in that river, and to capture the army of general Clinton, then in Philadelphia. But an unusual continuance of adverse winds protracted

the voyage of the French admiral across the Atlantic to the extraordinary length of eighty-seven days. This circumstance gave time to the English to evacuate Philadelphia, and save both their fleet and their army. D'Estaing, on his arrival at the Capes of the Delaware, finding his views disappointed, sailed to the river Savannah, in Georgia, where he landed his troops. Having been joined by a body of Americans, he made a desperate attack on the British forces at Savannah, but was repulsed with great loss. After this transaction, he left the coast of North America, and proceeded to the West Indies, where he took possession of the islands of St. Vincent and Grenada.

90. The court of Madrid was now induced to engage in the war against Great Britain; and the naval force of France being joined by that of Spain, their combined fleets rode for some time triumphant in the channel. Their armaments, indeed, appeared so formidable, that England was under great apprehensions of an immediate descent; but no attempt at a landing was made, and they soon returned to port. A victory gained off Cape St. Vincent by admiral Rodney, over the Spanish fleet, turned the scale of naval success on the side of Great Britain. But on the 8th of August, A. D. 1780, the combined fleets of France and Spain captured five English East Indiamen, and fifty merchant ships, bound for the West Indies. In the following year, Holland joined in the war against Great Britain; and the French made themselves masters of the island of Tobago.

91. But it was on the continent of North Ame-

rica that the most important transactions took place. After a campaign distinguished by judicious and skilful manœuvres, the French and American generals Rochambeau and Washington, surrounded Lord Cornwallis at York Town, in Virginia; and on the 19th of October, 1781, obliged him to surrender himself and his army, consisting of above seven thousand men, prisoners of war: a frigate, with a number of transports, and fifteen hundred seamen, shared the same fate. This event may be said to have established the independence of the American colonies, the grand object of this extensive war.

92. In the beginning of the year 1782, the French wrested from Great Britain the islands of Nevis, and St. Christopher, in the West Indies. The next object which they had in contemplation was the conquest of the important island of Jamaica; but the execution of that design was prevented by the vigilance and activity of admiral Rodney; who, on the 12th of April, fell in with and totally defeated the French fleet under the count de Grasse, in its way to join that of the Spaniards at St. Domingo. The *Ville de Paris*, of a hundred and ten guns, with the French admiral on board, was taken, besides two ships of seventy-four, and one of sixty-four guns: a seventy-four also blew up, and another of the same rate was sunk. And by a singular coincidence, thirty-six chests of money, intended for the pay and subsistence of the troops destined for the conquest of Jamaica, with the whole train of artillery, the battering cannon, and travelling carriages, chanced to



be on board of the captured vessels, a circumstance which totally disabled the French from continuing offensive operations in the West Indies.

93. This was the last important transaction that took place between France and England during the war. Negotiations soon after commenced; and on the 20th of January, 1783, the preliminaries of peace were agreed on by all the belligerent powers. France restored to Great Britain the islands of Grenada, St. Christopher, St. Vincent, Dominica, Nevis, and Montserrat. Great Britain ceded to France all that the latter possessed before the war; with the island of Tobago in the West Indies, and the forts on the river of Senegal in Africa, with their dependencies; and restored Pondicherry, Karical, Mahe, Chandernagore, and the comptoir of Surat in the East Indies. The limits of the Newfoundland fishery between the two nations were settled, and Great Britain renounced all her claims by former treaties, with respect to the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk. The treaties between the other belligerents do not come within the limits of our plan; but it may not be amiss, although it is scarcely necessary to add, that the independence of the American States was recognized by Great Britain.

94. France had now attained her grand object, the dismemberment of the British empire, which had so long been her rival in arts and in arms. Her commerce began to flourish, and she appeared again in the zenith of her political greatness. In this season of peace and prosperity, Lewis XVI.

could have no apprehension of being hurled from a throne on which he seemed to sit so secure. That throne, however, was secretly undermined, and tottering to its fall. During the space of half a century, France had been a hot-bed of irreligion and infidelity, which was constantly producing exuberant crops. A numerous and indefatigable band of deists, materialists and republicans, had assumed the imposing name of philosophers, and laboured to diminish, or rather to annihilate the respect of the people for every thing that mankind had been accustomed to consider as sacred. Principles and notions formerly unheard of, or regarded with horror, were engrafted into the minds of the rising generation; and a spirit of hostility to religion and government was diffused amongst all classes of the people by numerous writings, the vehicles of infidelity and republicanism. The theatre was converted into a medium through which democratical principles were inculcated; and the republican heroes of Greece and Rome were in almost every dramatic performance, the only characters held up to the admiration of the French public. Mistaken notions of liberty thus concurred with the efforts of infidelity, in effecting a mental revolution in France, of which the government seems not to have been aware; but which, in process of time, produced the most tremendous political concussions; and the court continued to act on principles long since exploded, without paying attention to the altered complexion of the times. During the reign of Lewis XVI. institutions and opinions were completely at variance: the royal

authority was absolute, without any fixed basis, the church was pre-eminent and powerful; but the influence of religion was extinct. Every thing presented a heterogeneous mixture of antiquated forms and new ideas. The ancient system, political, civil, and ecclesiastical, stood isolated in the nation, like the leafless trunk of an aged tree in the midst of the forest. And France exhibited the singular phænomenon of a country in which the religion was Catholic, and the government absolute monarchy; but education and ideas were deistical and republican. Such an unnatural union of contrary elements could not fail of producing some great explosion.

95. The revolution in America contributed to produce, or at least to accelerate, that which followed soon after in France. At that critical juncture, when the minds of the French were corrupted by doctrines and principles which tended to subvert the altar and the throne, the court of Versailles, unfortunately for itself, espoused the cause of the American colonies in their contest with Great Britain. The officers and soldiers of France, who served in that war, having imbibed enthusiastic notions of liberty amongst a people who by their aid, had acquired independence, returned to their own country with a strong predilection for the democratical form of government. From that time a numerous party in France became desirous of establishing a republic on the ruins of the monarchy.

96. While the democratical party only wanted a favourable occasion for carrying its plans into ex-



ecution, the disordered state of the finances ushered in a train of circumstances favourable to its views. The financial concerns of the kingdom had for some years been ably directed by M. Neckar; but his plans of reform not being agreeable to the predominant party at court, he was dismissed from his office. After his dismissal, the management of the revenue fell into the hands of ministers, who wanted either his integrity or his abilities; and in the year 1785, the finances were in so deranged a state, as to set the king and the parliament of Paris completely at variance.

97. The comptroller-general at that time was the famous M. de Calonne; who, although supported by the approbation of the sovereign, felt himself severely mortified by the opposition of the parliament and the murmurs of the people. Having found that the annual expenditure far exceeded the national revenue, and that the state of the public mind rendered the imposition of new taxes by royal authority dangerous, if not impossible, he suggested to Lewis XVI. the expediency of convening an assembly of notables, consisting of a number of persons from different parts of the kingdom, selected from the higher orders of the state, and nominated by the sovereign. This assembly met on the 26th of January, 1787, and M. de Calonne presented his new plan of reform and taxation. The great and essential object was to equalize the public burdens; and by rendering the system of taxation general, to diminish the weight which had lain so long on the lower classes of the people. The nobility, the clergy, and the magistrates, had

hitherto enjoyed an exemption from the taxes on land. But the project of the comptroller general was to establish a new land-tax, from which no rank or order of subjects should be exempted. — This plan of taxation was strongly opposed by the nobility, clergy, and magistracy. The influence of the minister sunk before that of the privileged orders. M. de Calonne therefore resigned his office; and to avoid persecution retired to England.

98. The notables refusing to share with the people in supporting the public burden, the assembly was dissolved without having accomplished any beneficial purpose; and the disputes between the king and the parliament of Paris became daily more serious. Lewis XVI. although of a mild and benovolent disposition, could not resign without a struggle, the authority which had so long been exercised by his predecessors: the parliament was banished to Troyes; but the public indignation was so great, and so openly expressed, that it was shortly after recalled.

99. In order to calm the troubles of the state, which daily assumed a more menacing appearance, the king resolved to convene the states-general; which, consisting like the British parliament, of the nobility, the prelates, and commons, or representatives of the people, had from the time of Philip the Fair, been considered as the legitimate assembly of the nation; but which had not met since the year 1614, when it was convoked in the minority of Lewis XIII. by the queen regent, Mary de Medicis. The states-general met on the appointed day, 1st of May, 1789; but their first

proceedings were attended by inauspicious circumstances. Unanimity of counsel was prevented by the opposite views of the different orders; and the people, distracted by various rumours, imagined that these dissensions were fomented by the intrigues of the court. An unusual scarcity of provisions, at the same time, increased the ferment; and the populace corrupted by democratic principles, ascribed every evil, whether political or natural, to regal or aristocratical influence. The aspect of Paris became daily more formidable and menacing, and the murmurs of its immense population were changed into loud and violent declamations. In the mean while, an army of thirty thousand men, commanded by marshal Broglio, was assembled in the vicinity of Paris; and if Lewis XVI. had been willing to expose the lives and property of the citizens to the fury of the soldiery, the capital might probably have been held in obedience. But Lewis imitated the conduct of the great and good Henry IV. Had Lewis XI. Lewis XIV. or Napoleon, been in his situation, they would probably not have been dethroned; they would have sacrificed the metropolis to their own security.

100. While the court appeared embarrassed, and doubtful what measures to take, the general ferment in Paris increased; and the French guards mixing with the citizens, imbibed the same revolutionary spirit. The people at length broke out into open revolt, rushed to the Hotel des Invalids; and seized on the arms there deposited. Being now supplied with arms and ammunition, and



joined by the guards, the Parisians broke through every restraint.

101. But while the Bastile remained in the power of the crown, the revolutionists could not think themselves in security. On the 14th of July, A. D. 1789,) that awful fortress of despotism, of which the name had for ages inspired terror, was invested by a mixed multitude of citizens, and soldiers who had joined the popular banner. De Launay, the governor, displayed a flag of truce, and demanded a parley; but abusing the confidence which that signal inspired, he discharged a heavy fire of cannon and musketry on the besiegers. This act of treachery, far from intimidating the people, only inflamed their rage, and rendered them desperate. They renewed the attack with a valour raised to frenzy. The Bastile was carried by assault. The governor being seized, was instantly massacred, and his head was carried in triumph through the streets of the capital.

102. In the gloomy apartments of this justly dreaded state prison, which had so long been sacred to silence and despair, was found, amongst other engines of cruelty, an iron cage, containing the skeleton of a man, who had probably lingered out a considerable part of his existence in that horrid abode. Amongst the prisoners released by the destruction of this fortress, were major White, a native of Scotland, and the count de Lorges: the former appeared to have his intellectual faculties greatly impaired by long confinement and misery, and from being unaccustomed to converse with mankind, he had forgotten the use of speech: the

latter was exhibited to the public in the Palais Royal; and his squalid appearance, his white beard, which descended to his waist, and his imbecillity, the direful effect of an imprisonment of thirty-two years, rendered him an object perfectly adapted to operate on the passions of every spectator. The Bastile was levelled to the ground, and with it the despotism of the French monarchy fell prostrate in the dust,

103. Had the Parisians stopped at this point, their proceedings would have merited the applause of posterity. But tremendous riots in the capital and at Versailles, which menaced the lives of the king and queen, and the “gardes du corps,” showed that the fury of the populace was not yet satisfied. These, however, being only the acts of a frantic mob, were not productive of any important results. The popular frenzy at length began to subside, and the public tranquillity seemed to be restored.

104. The 14th of July, A. D. 1790, the anniversary of the capture of the Bastile, was distinguished by one of the most magnificent and interesting scenes ever exhibited in any age or country. This was the grand confederation celebrated in the “Champ de Mars,”—a piece of ground adjoining to Paris, about eight hundred yards in length, bounded on each side by lofty trees, and commanding at the farther extremity a view of the military academy. In the middle of this field an altar was erected, for the purpose of administering the civic oath, and around it was thrown up an immense amphitheatre, capable of containing four

hundred thousand spectators: the entrance was through triumphal arches: the king's throne was placed under an elegant pavilion, and on each side were seats for the members of the national assembly. Here the national guards of the departments, distinguished by their respective standards, the battalions of infantry, the troops of cavalry, &c. being ranged in military order, the king, the national assembly, and the armed citizens, bound themselves by a solemn oath to maintain the new constitution which the assembly had framed. The same oath was taken on the same day in every part of the kingdom.

105. The revolution now seemed to be completed, and every thing displayed an aspect of tranquillity. The French nation imagined that the poetical fiction of a golden age was about to be realized. Many persons in England were also of the same opinion. But the glittering prospect was illusory, and direful events were in embryo. The king appears to have regarded the oath which he had taken as compulsory, and saw himself divested of a great part of the power which he had inherited from his predecessors. His brothers, the count of Provence, now Lewis XVIII. and the count d'Artois, as well as the prince de Conde, with some other princes of the blood, and several nobles of high rank and fortune, had, at the commencement of the disturbances, retired from France and found an asylum in Germany. Lewis XVI. conceiving himself to be laid under undue restrictions, resolved to adopt the same measure. In the night of the 20th of June, 1791, the king and



queen, with their family, made their escape from Paris. But their plans being ill-concerted, and their mode of travelling calculated to excite suspicion, they were arrested at Varennes, in proceeding towards the German frontier, and reconducted to the Tuilleries. This singular and unfortunate occurrence destroyed all confidence between the nation and the king.

106. In the mean while, the conduct of the emperor Leopold towards France appeared undecided. But the conclusion of the treaty of Pilnitz, and the favour which he showed to the emigrants, were proofs of his being no friend to the revolutionists. His unexpected death, which happened on the 1st of March, 1792, after a sickness of only four days, was followed by the accession of his son, Francis II. who succeeded him in his hereditary dominions, and on the 14th of July, the same year, was elected emperor. This prince, encouraged by the court of Berlin, assumed a decided tone in his negotiations with the French ministers. The proposals which he made were deemed inadmissible; and the revolutionists were determined to commence hostilities. On the 24th of April, 1792, a declaration of war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia was decreed by the national assembly, and ratified by the French monarch. In the mean while, the combined armies of Austria and Prussia were ready to enter France; and their general, the duke of Brunswick, published a declaration, threatening the city of Paris with military execution, and total destruction, in case that the least outrage should be offered to the king, the queen, or any of the royal family.)

107. This thundering menace, in all probability, (determined, or at least accelerated the fate of Lewis XVI. and his family.) The hostile armies were advancing towards Paris; and the people imagined the court was in a league with their enemies. A terrible scene was the consequence. At midnight, between the 9th and 10th of August, the alarm-bell was rung in every quarter of the capital, the drums beat to arms, and an immense multitude attacked the palace of the Tuilleries. The Swiss guards at first repelled the populace; but the assailants redoubling their efforts, the palace was carried by storm: the apartments, the passages, and courts soon streamed with blood: the Swiss were massacred, and all the royalists were killed or dispersed. The king, the queen, and the royal family fled for refuge to the national assembly.

108. The nearer approach of the Prussian army occasioned new outrages. The prisons of Paris were filled with nobles, ecclesiastics, and opulent citizens, suspected of favouring the court and the aristocratical party. The jacobinical demagogues urged the expediency of destroying these unfortunate persons before the enemy should reach the capital. On the 2d and 3d of September, bands of ferocious assassins burst open the prisons, and massacred all the aristocrats, many of whom were persons of high distinction; but neither rank, age, nor sex was respected by the jacobins; and Paris flowed with blood, while no constitutional authority existed that was able to put a stop to those horrible outrages. The power of the legislative assembly

was annihilated, and from this moment the cannon of the Parisians dictated all its decrees. The period which ensued has been justly denominated the reign of terror.

109. During these transactions, general La Fayette, who had distinguished himself in the American war, and been a zealous promoter of the revolution, was desirous of supporting the constitutional monarchy. But on finding himself marked out for destruction by the jacobinical party, he resolved to avoid the scaffold by quitting his country, in company with Bureau de Pusy, La Tour Maubourg, and Alexander Lameth. These illustrious fugitives, being arrested by the Austrians, and carried to the prison of Olmutz, underwent a series of sufferings seldom paralleled in a civilized country. Nothing could be more impolitic than this conduct of the Austrians. ( It taught the constitutionalists, who wished to save the throne, to expect the same treatment as the jacobins by whom it was overturned, and united all France in one common cause.)

110. A new national assembly, which took the name of "The convention," (met on the 24th of September, 1792;) and on the opening of the session, the abolition of monarchy was decreed, and France was declared a republic. ( But the assembly itself was a hot-bed of factions.) Marat, Robespierre, and others, formed a party, which being supported by the jacobins and the mob of the city, was too powerful for the convention, which was now overawed by the Parisian populace.

111. During the time that Paris exhibited



scenes of anarchy and blood, the French arms were astonishingly successful. In the month of September, Savoy was conquered by general Montesquiou. At the same time the invading armies suffered such distress from a scarcity of provisions, a rainy season, and an epidemical sickness, that the Prussians retreated from France with the loss of (half their troops) and the Austrians soon adopted the same measure. General Custine, following them in their retreat, entered Germany about the end of September, and captured Spire, Worms, Mentz, and Frankfort. The republic now extended its conquests on every side. General Dumourier entered the Netherlands, and on the 6th of November a bloody and decisive action took place at the village of Jemappe, in the neighborhood of Mons. The Austrians were totally defeated; and in a short time every town in the Netherlands, except Luxemburg, surrendered to the French arms.

112. While the armies of the republic were making these rapid conquests, the national convention alarmed all the neighbouring powers, by indicating a design of rendering the revolutionary system universal. On the 19th of November that assembly published a decree, promising fraternity and aid to the subjects of every state that should erect the standard of revolt against their respective rulers. This decree, which, in its absurdity and impolitic tendency, could only be equalled by the duke of Brunswick's threatening manifesto, was justly considered as equivalent to a declaration of

war against all the existing governments of Europe.

113. This slight sketch of the French revolution, while passing through its first stages, has now brought us to the melancholy catastrophe of Lewis XVI. His memorable trial commenced on the 11th December, 1792, and its fatal issue is universally known. He was condemned to suffer death by the guillotine; and on the 21st of January, 1793, he was publicly executed. In his last moments he displayed the fortitude of a hero, combined with the resignation of a Christian. All Europe deplored the tragical fate of a prince, who, after having adopted so lenient measures at the commencement of the revolution, showed a firmness on the scaffold which made it appear not improbable, that if he could have taken away the lives of his subjects with the same indifference with which he resigned his own, he might have avoided his misfortunes, and maintained himself on the throne.

114. Lewis XVI. was one of the most beneficent princes that had ever reigned over France. He encouraged letters and commerce: even amidst the fury of war, he showed a regard to the interests of science. Previous to the commencement of hostilities in the American war, two ships, commanded by captains Cook and Clerk, had been sent from England on a voyage of discovery; and Lewis, with a generosity which reflects the highest honour on his character, commanded all his naval officers to treat them as neutral vessels. This unfortunate monarch has been blamed for

not taking more decisive measures at the commencement of the revolution; but it ought to be considered that he was placed in a new and singular situation, which rendered the least error in his conduct productive of disastrous consequences.

115. You have now, my dear Sir, enjoyed the opportunity of contemplating the French monarchy rising from a state of civil commotion and anarchy to its highest pitch of political power and internal despotism, and the nation rapidly advancing to the summit of literary and scientific, as well as military glory. But the moral as well as the physical world is in a state of perpetual revolution. You have, in the period here brought forward to your inspection, seen that powerful monarchy, like a lofty oak stricken by the lightning, fall prostrate in the dust, at the moment in which it exhibited the most flourishing appearance of vigour; and that polished people sink from the highest pitch of civilization to a most degrading state of barbarity. The despotism of the French monarchy was established in the reigns of Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. by the abilities of their ministers, Richelieu and Mazarin. Prescription, submission, and military strength, seemed to have rendered it sacred and unassailable; but as soon as a revolution had taken place in the public mind, as soon as the veneration of the people for monarchy was changed into contempt and aversion, that power, which had derived its strength from the loyalty as much as from the dread of the subject, expired without a struggle. From this we may see, that a free constitution is the best calculated



to secure the authority of the monarch as well as the happiness of the people. Despotism throws the whole care and responsibility of government upon the sovereign, and while it seems to augment his power, renders it fluctuating and precarious. Had France been a limited monarchy, Lewis XVI. would never have been placed in so difficult a situation.

116. The gradual and silent operation of the causes which produced a mental revolution in France, previous to that which took place in the government, highly merits the attention of the moral philosopher, and exhibits a memorable instance of the dreadful effects of infidelity and mistaken notions of liberty. But you must also have perceived, that the calamities with which the revolution was attended in the different stages of its progress, were caused, or at least greatly aggravated by mutual distrust, and the political errors of all parties. In reflecting on the ill planned and unfortunate flight of Lewis XVI. from Paris, which destroyed all confidence between him and his people; the impolitic manifesto of the Prussian general, which precipitated the fate of the royal family; and the harsh treatment of La Fayette, and his companions, which united the factions against foreign force, and excited that desperate enthusiasm which pervaded the people and armies of France, we cannot be at a loss to account for the consequences. And if we consider the absurd and impolitic decree issued by the convention, on the 19th of November, 1792, which so greatly contributed to arm all Europe against the republic;

besides a variety of other mistakes, both in political and military concerns, committed both by the French and their enemies, we cannot but perceive that the revolutionary period was distinguished by egregious errors, as well as by extraordinary exertions.)

I shall now leave you to revolve in your mind subjects so extremely interesting to the philosophical reader of history, and presume that you will not doubt my sincerity, when I assure you, that with high esteem, and unfeigned affection,

I am, dear Sir,

Your's, &c.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

- 1.--What was the descent of Henry IV?
- 2.--Who sent troops to his aid?
- 3.--Who aided Henry, and who supported the league?
- 4.--When did Henry make his abjuration? 1574
- 5.--In what year did he issue the edict of Nantes? 1601
- 6.--Where, and by whom was Henry IV. assassinated?
- 7.--What was his character?
- 8....Who introduced silk worms into France?
- 9.--What was then the state of Paris?
- 10....Who succeeded Henry IV?
- 11....
- 12....What were the great objects of cardinal Richelieu?
- 13....
- 14....Who took Rochelle?
- 15....On what terms did the Protestants make peace?
- 16....When was Gustavus Adolphus killed? 1632
- 17....How many soldiers were raised amongst the domestics and apprentices of Paris? 20,000
- 18.--Who fell victims to cardinal Richelieu?
- 19....What was the character of cardinal Richelieu?

- 20.---What was the character of Lewis XIII?
- 21.---At what age did Lewis XIV. begin his reign?
- 22.---Who was made chief minister in France?  
When was the peace of Munster concluded? *1648*
- 23.---What French prince went over to the Spaniards?
- 24.---With whom did Mazarin enter into alliance?
- 25.---What did Mazarin and Colbert effect?
- 26.---Who fortified the towns taken in Flanders, &c?
- 27.---What was the object of the kings of France and England?
- 28.---When was the sea-fight between the duke of York and admiral De Ruyter? *28 May 1672*
- 29.---When did Lewis XIV. enter Utrecht? *25 June 1678*
- 30.---What measures were taken by the people of Amsterdam? What project did they form?
- 31.---Who was elected stadtholder?
- 32.-----
- 33.---Who challenged marshal Turenne to single combat?
- 34.---How was marshal Turenne killed?
- 35.---Who supplied his loss?
- 36.---What towns did the French take in 1667?
- 37.---When did France obtain her iron frontier? *1678*
- 38.---What prince acquired the ascendancy in Europe?
- 39.---Who seized on Strasburg?
- 40.---What was the strength of the French navy?
- 41.-----
- 42.---What was the state of the French manufactures?
- 43.---When was France in her most flourishing state?
- 44.---How did Lewis conduct himself towards the pope?
- 45.---Who formed a league against France?
- 46.---What country did the French devastate?
- 47.---What caused England to join the confederacy against France?
- 48.---What was the character of marshal Catinat?
- 49.---Who defeated the combined English and Dutch fleets?
- 50.-----
- 51.---Who directed the attacks against Namur?
- 52.---Who defeated William III. at Steinkirk?
- 53.-----
- 54.---Who gained the victory off Cape La Hogue?



- 55.—Who gained the victory at Neerwinden?  
 56.—  
 57.—  
 58.—What was the character of the duke of Luxemburg?  
 59.—In what year was the treaty of Ryswick?  
 60.—  
 61.—What was the object of the league called the triple alliance?  
 62.—When was the battle of Blenheim?  
       When was the battle of Ramilies?  
 63.—When was the battle of Almanza?  
 64.—When was the battle of Malplaquet?  
 65.—  
 66.—What circumstances saved Lewis XIV. from ruin?  
 67.—How long did Lewis XIV. reign?  
       What were his corporeal and mental qualities?  
       To whom must the brilliant achievements of his reign be ascribed?  
 68.—Who established despotism in France?  
 69.—What was the character of Lewis XIV. as a patron of literature, &c.?  
 70.—At what age did Lewis XV. begin to reign?  
 71.—What was the character of the duke of Orleans, regent of France?  
 72.—When was Lorraine united to France?  
 73.—In what state was France about that time?  
       What French general made so masterly a retreat from Prague?  
 74.—Who gained the victory of Fontenoy?  
 75.—When was the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle?  
       How did the war end?  
 76.—What was the cause of the next war between France and Great Britain?  
 77.—  
 78.—  
 79.—When did Quebec surrender to the English?  
 80.—In what year did the English make themselves masters of Montreal, Pondicherry, and Belleisle?  
 81.—  
 82.—

- 83.—In what year was the peace of Paris concluded? 1763
- 84.—
- 85.—In what state was the French commerce previous to the year 1755?
- 86.—What distinguished writers flourished in the reigns of Lewis XIV. and XV?
- 87.—In what year, and at what age did Lewis XVI. begin his reign? 1774, 20
- 88.—What French ministers opposed the alliance between France and America?
- 89.—What was the design of D'Estaing's expedition to America, and how was its success prevented?
- 90.—
- 91.—When, and where did lord Cornwallis surrender to the French and Americans? 1900 1781
- 92.—What was the plan of the count de Grasse? How was its execution prevented?
- 93.—When was peace concluded? 1763 1763
- 94.—What was the nature of the education and ideas in France previous to the revolution?
- 95.—To what did the American revolution contribute?
- 96.—In what state were the French finances in 1785.
- 97.—What was M. de Calonne's project of taxation?
- 98.—
- 99.—When did the states-general meet? 1789 1789
- 100.—
- 101.—When was the Bastille taken? 1789 1789
- 102.—What prisoners were liberated?
- 103.—
- 104.—When was the grand confederation solemnized? 1790 1790
- 105.—When did Lewis XVI. attempt to escape? 1791 1791
- 106.—When did France declare war against Austria? 1792 1792
- What did the duke of Brunswick threaten in his manifesto?
- 107.—What was the consequence of this menace?
- 108.—Who dictated the measures of the national assembly?
- 109.—What was the consequence of the arrest and ill treatment of La Fayette and his companions?
- 110.—When did the national convention meet? What was its state?

- 111.---What was the loss of the Prussians in their invasion of France?
- 112.-----
- 113.---When was Lewis XVI. executed? 21st Jan 1793
- 114.---What was the character of Lewis XVI?
- 115.---What system of government affords the greatest security to the prince?
- 116.---What were the principal errors of the revolutionists and their enemies?

## LETTER XI.

*Comprising a period of eleven years and four months, wanting three days, from the death of Lewis XVI. 21st January, 1793, to the establishment of the empire under Napoleon Buonaparte, on the 18th of May, 1804.*

|                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Government of France. | King of Great Britain. |
| Republic.             | George III.            |

DEAR SIR,

HISTORY often wearies us with repeated details of political intrigues, and military transactions, without any important consequences, exhibiting an uniform series of pictures, with little variation in their outlines or colouring. But now a spectacle more striking will arrest your attention: a new phænomenon appears, and you must prepare for the contemplation of events that baffled all political calculation.

1. The catastrophe of Lewis XVI. excited the



just indignation of Europe; and all the powers of this quarter of the globe resolving to crush, if possible, a revolutionary and regicidal system, which threatened the subversion of all existing governments, formed a confederacy more extensive and formidable than any other that history commemorates. (Great Britain, Holland, Spain, Portugal, and the princes of Germany and Italy, united with Austria and Prussia against the French republic; and such was the general exasperation, that Paris seemed destined to experience the fate of Troy. Tyrannised at home by sanguinary anarchists, and menaced from abroad by the combined forces of Europe, the French nation seemed wholly incapable of extricating itself from so terrible a situation. But that enthusiasm which in different ages and different countries, has been productive of miracles, supported the republic against all the attempts of its enemies.

2. In the campaign of 1793, the first efforts of the combined powers were every where crowned with success; but before the close of the year, the scales turned in favour of the French. General Dumourier projected the conquest of Holland, and made himself master of Breda and Gertruydenberg: but general Miranda was compelled by the Austrians and Prussians to raise the siege of Mæstricht: general Dumourier was totally defeated on the 18th of March by the Austrians, at Neerwinden, and the French were obliged to retire to St. Amand. (Dumourier) being now suspected by the convention, and accused of treachery by Miranda, four commissioners, with Bour-

nonville, the minister for the war department, set out from Paris to the camp, in order to secure the fidelity of the army, and the person of the general. Dumourier attempted to allure Bournonville into his views; but finding that to be impossible, he erected the standard of revolt, seized the minister and commissioners, and delivered them to the Austrian general, with whom he had entered into a treaty. He then communicated to the army his intention of marching to Paris, and restoring the monarchy; but he found his troops averse to the proposal. The general then being convinced of his own danger, galloped off with a small number of his associates, who approved his plan; and although a heavy discharge of musketry was poured upon him by the whole column, he arrived in safety at the Austrian camp.

3. His royal highness the duke of York, with a strong British force, having joined the combined armies, the French were defeated at Famars, and their general Dampier was killed. On the 10th of July, 1793, the Austrians made themselves masters of Conde; and on the 20th Valenciennes after sustaining a murderous siege of seven weeks, surrendered to the duke of York. On the 25th of August, his royal highness invested Dunkirk; but a formidable army under general Houchard, menacing the camp of the besiegers, in concurrence with other circumstances, rendered the reduction of that place impracticable. After sustaining a severe loss, the allies raised the siege on the 8th September, leaving behind all their cannon, and a large quantity of military stores, in order to avoid being

surrounded by the republican forces. General Houchard was condemned by the revolutionary tribunal, and suffered death by the guillotine, on a charge of neglecting to improve his advantages; it being asserted, that his superiority in numbers might have enabled him to capture the whole British army. About the same time, the Austrian general, the prince of Saxe Cobourg, was obliged to raise the siege of Maubeuge.

4. In every quarter, the war exhibited a similar train of events. During the first part of the campaign, the confederates were almost invariably successful; but before its conclusion, all their operations were marked by defeat and disaster. The king of Prussia re-captured Frankfort and Mentz; while the prince de Conde, with an army of Austrians, Prussians, and emigrants, forced the French lines at Weissemburg, where the republicans lost fifteen thousand of their best troops. But before the end of the campaign, several sanguinary actions took place, in which the French were victorious; and the allied armies were obliged to repass the Rhine.

5. While the republic was attacked on all sides by foreign armies, its existence was endangered by domestic enemies, and intestine commotions. The large and populous city of Lyons erected the standard of revolt against the convention; and the inhabitants of Toulon entered into a treaty with the British admiral, lord Hood, who took possession of the town and shipping in the name of Lewis XVII. But Lyons; after sustaining a siege of two months, under an incessant bombardment,



was taken by storm, and almost totally destroyed. The revolutionary army then advancing to Toulon, commenced a most active and murderous siege. On the 19th of December, a tremendous attack was made on the fortifications. The English redoubt, though defended by three thousand men, with twenty pieces of cannon, and several mortars, was carried in the space of an hour; and the town being incessantly bombarded from noon until ten at night, the allies set fire to the shipping, and evacuated the place. The republican navy here received a terrible blow. Fifteen ships of the line, with a number of frigates, &c. were destroyed: three ships of the line, with some frigates and smaller vessels, were brought away by the allies. The unfortunate inhabitants expiated severely their revolt. Great efforts were made by the allies to carry away as many as possible; but several thousands were left to the fury of their countrymen, who showed no mercy.

6. During this tremendous crisis, when foreign invasion and domestic revolt threatened the extinction of the republic, the revolutionary government of France, the most despotic and tyrannical that ever existed in any part of the world, displayed an energy that triumphed over all obstacles, carried dismay to the extremities of Europe, and presented a political picture which will ever excite the astonishment of the moral philosopher. ( By the expedient of assignats, and a decree to enforce their circulation, an immense paper currency was created; the estates of the emigrants were confiscated; all property was, by a sweeping law of un-

precedented despotism, placed in a state of requisition; and the towns of France were filled with forges for the manufacture of arms, and foundaries for the casting of cannon. This terrific government, not contented with exercising the most horrible tyranny over men, proceeded to impieties against God, which will astonish and shock the most distant posterity. In order to extinguish every principle of humanity, and every apprehension of futurity amongst the people and the soldiery, the Christian religion was abolished by a decree of the convention: the temples for public worship were shut up; and their rich ornaments, with all the lands and revenues of the church, were seized for the use of the state. By these means, the republic was enabled to make efforts unprecedented in history. Above a million of soldiers were levied, and terror inspired their commanders with a desperate courage. Those that were unsuccessful were denounced to the revolutionary tribunal, which condemned them to death on the slightest suspicions; and their places were filled by soldiers of fortune, who had risen from the lower classes of the army; men who set danger and death at defiance, and were always ready to hazard their lives for preferment, plunder, and glory.

7. While the armies of France were repelling invasion, and repressing revolt, the scaffolds of Paris were streaming with blood. The celebrated general Custine, whose successes had lately been so brilliant, being accused of holding an improper correspondence with the enemy, and of neglecting several opportunities of throwing succours into

Valenciennes, was condemned by the revolutionary tribunal, and suffered death by the guillotine. The next victim was the unfortunate queen Marie Antoinette. The act of accusation brought against her consisted of several charges, none of which were substantiated, and many of them were absurd and incredible; but revolutionary vengeance had pre-determined her death. On the 15th of October, 1793, she was executed by the guillotine, and met her fate with heroic intrepidity, in the thirty eighth year of her age. Brissot, and twenty-one other members of the convention, were then brought to trial, on vague accusations of a conspiracy against the republic. Valleze stabbed himself on hearing his sentence: Brissot, and the twenty others, were executed on the 30th of October. The intriguing and profligate duke of Orleans was next brought to the scaffold, being accused of aspiring to the sovereignty. The charge was supported only by probability; without proof; but the revolutionary tribunal condemned him to the guillotine. He was executed on the 6th of November, amidst the insults and reproaches of the populace; and the firmness which he displayed at his death, formed a contrast to the weakness that had marked his conduct through life.

8. During a great part of the following year, 1794, the system of terror reigned at Paris with increasing rigour; and the mutual distrust of the tyrants rendered it not less destructive to themselves, than to those who were subject to their authority. In the month of March, Hebert, Momoro, Vincent, and seventeen other members of



this diabolical convention, being impeached by their colleagues, and tried before the revolutionary tribunal, were condemned and executed.

9. The revolutionary government having reached the last stage of tyranny, the members of the Pandæmonium of Paris, actuated by mutual jealousies and suspicions, directed their views towards mutual extermination, and successively fell on the same scaffolds on which they had immolated so many innocent victims. Robespierre, dreading the dauntless intrepidity of Danton, Fabre d'Eglantine, Bazire, and Chabot, four of the most noted desperadoes of the convention, caused them and several of their adherents to be arrested as conspirators against the republic. All these were condemned after a summary trial; and on the 5th of April, they were executed by the guillotine.

10. The government of France, although nominally republican, was now almost entirely vested in one man, the tyrant Robespierre, a name that can never be mentioned without horror. Never was the reign of any despot so terrible. Being supported by the Parisian mob, he considered his power as above all control, and set no bounds to his cruelty. Under his sanguinary administration, the prisons of Paris contained, at one time, more than seven thousand persons, and a day seldom passed without sixty or eighty executions. Amongst the multitudes of victims that were sacrificed to his tyranny, the beautiful and accomplished princess Elizabeth, sister of the late unfortunate monarch, was condemned on the most frivolous charges, and perished by the revolutionary axe, her royal birth

being her only crime. She was guillotined the last of twenty-six persons executed at the same time, and met her fate with heroic intrepidity and calm resignation. In the midst of these inhuman butcheries, Robespierre perceiving that the total abolition of divine worship was displeasing to the people, obtained from the convention a declaration that France acknowledged the existence of a Deity, and a decree for opening the churches to all sects without distinction. Thus did the tyrant endeavour to diminish the horror of his cruelty, by pretending an attachment to religion.

11. Paris was now a rendezvous of robbers and assassins assembled from all parts of France, and paid by the factions which relied on their support. In every quarter of the city were established jacobinical clubs, and revolutionary committees, composed of desperadoes immersed in crimes; and every thing seemed to indicate the subversion of all social order, and the commencement of a general war of the poor against the rich. Robespierre now seemed to aim at the extermination of all persons of property, and the destruction of all the existing authorities, in order to reign over a murderous banditti. But the career of this tyrannical demagogue was now drawing towards its termination. Every member of the convention began to tremble for his own safety. Tallien, Barras, Bourdon, Legendre, Lecointre, Merlin de Thionville, and Billaud de Varennes, being amongst those who were the most sensible of their danger, resolved to prevent their own destruction by the death of the tyrant. Having artfully pre-

pared the public mind, and taken the most judicious measures for diminishing the influence of the demagogue over the Parisian populace, they impeached Robespierre, St. Just, Couthon; Henriot, La Valette, and their adherents, of a conspiracy against the convention. Their arrest was decreed, and they were conducted to the prison of the Luxembourg; but the administrator of the police being a creature of Robespierre, refused to receive them; and a body of jacobins dispersing the guards, led them in triumph to the hotel de Ville. Henriot was arrested at the committee of public safety; but being rescued by an armed banditti, he raised his partisans, and took post with Robespierre in the hotel de Ville, where they pretended to form themselves into a new convention, and declared the other members traitors to their country. But Robespierre now discovered that his reliance on the mob was fallacious. He and his companions saw themselves deserted by the people; and the deputies of the convention having assembled some of the factions, attacked them in the hotel de Ville. Robespierre, convinced that his tyrannical career was terminated, shot himself in the mouth with a pistol. The ball failed of its intended effect, but carried away part of his jaw; and he received another wound in his side from one of the "gens d'arme." His brother, the younger Robespierre, leaped out of a window, and broke a leg and an arm. Le Bas shot himself on the spot; and Couthon made an attempt at suicide, by stabbing himself with a knife. But at length they were all seized, and dragged before the revolution-



ary tribunal. By that tribunal, which had so often been the instrument of his tyranny, Robespierre was sentenced to death, together with his associates, in all twenty-one persons; and on the 28th of July, 1794, they were executed, amidst the loud bursts of public execration. Thus fell a monster who, in cruelty, surpassed all the tyrants both of ancient and modern times; and whose death put an end to what is so emphatically denominated the reign of terror.

12. Notwithstanding those internal scenes of horror, the exertions of the republic during this period were prodigious and almost incredible. In the year 1794, France displayed a political and military picture, to which no parallel is found in the history of any country, whether barbarous or civilized. Infidels directed her councils, and desperadoes conducted her armies. The number of troops which the republic brought into the field amounted to seven hundred and eighty thousand. The generals placed between the scaffolds of Paris and the cannon of their enemies, having no alternative between death and victory, immortalized their names by their bold enterprises and splendid successes; and the warriors of France astonished the world by their numbers and their valour. The armies of the combined powers scarcely amounted to three hundred and sixty thousand men; and the French generals availing themselves of the superiority of their forces, disconcerted, by their bold movements, the systematic plans of their enemies. The celebrated Pichegru, whose military talents had raised him from the rank of a sergeant, to that

of a general, having in the preceding year distinguished himself by forcing the Austrians and Prussians to repass the Rhine, was appointed by the convention to the command of the army in Flanders. Military operations commenced with extraordinary vigour. The emperor Francis II. took the field at the head of the grand army of the confederates, and being joined by the duke of York, a most active scene of hostilities was opened. Several obstinate and bloody actions took place with various success; but at length the French generals Pichegru and Jourdan pouring a tremendous force on the allies, made themselves masters of the whole of the Netherlands, and of a considerable part of Germany, on the western side of the Rhine.

13. During these transactions, the province of La Vendee erected the standard of revolt against the convention. The insurgents assuming the title of the royal and Catholic army, made a desperate resistance against the republican forces that poured in upon them from different quarters; but at length they were overpowered; and the revolt of La Vendee ended in the desolation of that fertile province.

14. The campaign of 1794 closed with the most signal successes on the part of the republic, and that of the succeeding year effected an important change in the political aspect of Europe. Its commencement was marked by the conquest of Holland, which within the space of ten days was begun and completed. On the 10th of January, the Waal being frozen, general Pichegru passed over on the ice with his whole army. A general at-

tack was made on the allies, who being defeated at every point, and driven from all their positions, were obliged to retire, and suffered excessive hardships from the inclemency of the weather. The French advanced through the United Provinces almost without opposition. His serene highness the Stadtholder and his family retired to England. On the (20th of January,) general Pichegru entered Amsterdam, and new-modelled the government on the plan of the French republic. In Spain, the French arms were equally successful. The republican generals made themselves masters of the greater part of the provinces of Biscay and Catalonia, and even menaced Madrid.

15. In the course of this year the coalition sustained a great loss in the defection of two of its members. The king of Prussia, one of the first promoters of the war, seeing its object unattainable, concluded, on the 5th of April, a treaty of peace with the French republic. His example was followed by his catholic majesty, who in consequence of the ill success of his arms, entered into a negotiation with the republic; and on the 22d of July, a treaty of peace between France and Spain was concluded.

16. On the 9th of June the same year, the dauphin, son of Lewis XVI. died in the prison of the Temple, where he had been confined ever since the fatal autumn of 1792. His disease was of a scrophulous nature, and although it does not appear that medical aid was either denied or neglected, it is extremely probable that a long and unmerited imprisonment, if it did not occasion, at least



contributed to accelerate his death. The fatal shade that enveloped the existence and the end of this unfortunate young prince, cannot be contemplated without exciting reflections painful to humanity. The princess his sister, the only remaining child of the late king and queen, and now duchess of Angouleme, was soon after liberated, being exchanged for the deputies delivered to the Austrians by Dumourier and two other prisoners of distinction. On the death of the dauphin, Lewis Stanislaus Xavier, count de Provence, eldest brother of the late unfortunate monarch, took the title of Lewis XVIII. An alteration also took place in the form of the republican government, the executive authority being invested in a directory, consisting of five persons.

17. The campaign of 1796 opened in the beginning of April; and the celebrated Napoleon Bonaparte being appointed to the command of the army in Italy, now first began to come into notice. The rapid victories of the republicans under that able general terminated in less than six weeks the war with Sardinia; and by a treaty of peace, Savoy and part of Piedmont were ceded to France. Bonaparte following up his success, defeated the Austrians at the bridge of Lodi, after which he took possession of Milan, and having made himself master of Lombardy, laid siege to the strong town of Mantua.

18. The campaign in Germany exhibited a scene of activity that attracted the attention of Europe. The French general, Jourdan, after gaining considerable advantages over the Austrians, ad-

vanced in the beginning of June with the army of the Sambre and Meuse into the heart of the empire. About the same time another army under general Moreau passed the Rhine at Strasburg, took the fort of Kehl, an important post on the opposite bank of the river, and penetrated through Swabia and Bavaria almost to Ratisbon, in the view of forming a junction with Jourdan. The attempt, however, did not succeed. Both armies were obliged to retreat until they repassed the Rhine. The situation of Moreau in particular was extremely critical; and the retreat of that celebrated general was regarded by all parties as one of the most masterly exhibitions of military skill that took place in the revolutionary war.

19. In Italy hostilities were carried on with astonishing activity and vigour. A new army composed of the finest of the Austrian troops was sent into that country to check the rapid career of Bonaparte; and the command was conferred on Wurmser, one of the ablest of the imperial generals. The first operations of this army were crowned with success. The French were defeated in different actions and compelled to raise the siege of Mantua. General Bonaparte, now seeing himself closely pressed, evacuated Verona, and drawing troops from several of his garrisons, concentrated his forces. This being effected, he commenced a most vigorous train of operations, and the Austrians being defeated in five bloody conflicts, general Wurmser was obliged to shut himself up with the shattered remains of his army in Mantua. His perilous situation induced the court

of Vienna to send another army under general Alvinzy to his relief. But the bloody battle of Arcole, fought on three successive days, 15th, 16th, and 17th of November, frustrated the designs of the Austrian commander. In this memorable action Bonaparte gained a victory which decided the issue of the campaign. Mantua surrendered: the pope, the king of Naples, and the other princes of Italy were obliged to conclude treaties of peace on such terms as the French were pleased to dictate: and the North of Italy was formed into the Cisalpine republic.

20. During these transactions in Europe, the French and Batavian republics sustained considerable losses in the West Indies. The French islands of Grenada and St. Vincent were captured by the British forces; and the Dutch settlements of Demarara and Berbice met with the same fate. The political aspect of Europe now began to exhibit a great change. A treaty of alliance was concluded between Spain and the French republic; and on the 8th of October, the court of Madrid declared war against England.

21. The year (1797) was ushered in by a new train of successes on the part of the French. The victorious Bonaparte penetrated into the Tyrol, and directed his march towards the imperial capital. He was opposed by the archduke Charles, and several bloody conflicts took place amidst the snows of the Alps. But nothing could arrest the progress of Bonaparte, who advanced so rapidly towards Vienna as to excite great alarm in that city. At this critical juncture, the imperial court



commenced a negotiation with the French general, and in the month of April, the preliminaries of peace were signed at Leoben. The French soon after seized on Venice. The definitive treaty between France and Austria being signed on the 17th of October, at Campo Formio, Venice, with Istria, Dalmatia, and the dependent islands were ceded to the emperor, who in return confirmed the possession of Belgium to France, and acknowledged the Cisalpine republic.

22. While the arms of France were successful by land, her allies met with great losses by sea. A Spanish squadron was defeated on the 14th of February by the British admiral Jarvis, and four large ships of the line were captured. And on the 11th of October, admiral Duncan gained a complete victory over the Batavian fleet. The Dutch lost nine of their ships, and their admiral, De Winter, was taken prisoner.

23. In the mean while, great dissensions prevailed at Paris, between the legislative councils and the directory. Even the directors were divided amongst themselves; two of them, Carnot and Barthelemi, adhering to the councils. Barras and his party, however, were supported by the soldiery, and adopted the most resolute measures. On the 4th of September, general Augereau, with a body of soldiers, entered the hall of the council of five Hundred, and seizing the famous general Pichegru, the president, with his own hands, ordered him and eighteen others of the anti-directorial party, to be committed to the Temple prison. The directors Carnot and Barthelemi were impli-

cated in the fate of their friends in the councils. Carnot made his escape in the tumult: the others were transported to Cayenne. Pichegru, Barthelemi, and some of the others, found means to escape from that place of exile, and returned to Europe.

24. In the commencement of the year 1798, a new revolution took place in Italy. A tumult having happened at Rome, in which a French general was killed, the republican army, commanded by Berthier, entered that capital; and on the 15th of February, having abolished the papal government, established a commonwealth under the designation of the Roman republic. The pope, Pius VI. was made prisoner, and carried to Valence in France, where he died on the 19th of August the following year. Soon after this revolution at Rome, the French made themselves masters of Switzerland.

25. The French government being now freed from the continental war, projected new schemes of ambition and conquest, in order to give employment to the armies, and afford them opportunities of acquiring riches by plunder. The directory made immense preparations, of which the invasion of Great Britain was the ostensible object. But the attack with which this kingdom had long been threatened, was now unexpectedly directed against Egypt, although no quarrel existed between the French republic and the Ottoman Porte. General Buonaparte, with about forty thousand men, embarked on board the fleet commanded by admiral Brueys, and towards the end of May sailed from

Toulon for Egypt. On the 9th of June he arrived at Malta, and on the 11th made himself master of that island, almost without opposition. On the 1st of July he appeared before Alexandria, and on the 5th took that city by assault. On the 21st he reached Cairo, and on the 23d that capital was stormed and taken. The Mamaluke beys attempted to rally, and collected a numerous army in the neighbourhood of Cairo. But on the 26th of July, their united forces were defeated in the battle of the Pyramids, and the French by that victory became masters of Egypt.

26. These splendid successes were followed by a train of disasters. On the 1st of August, the French fleet, although drawn up in a firm and compact line of battle, near the shore in the bay of Aboukir, and protected in the van by a battery planted in a small island, was defeated and almost annihilated, by admiral Nelson. The republican admiral Brueys was killed: his flag-ship, *L'Orient*, of a hundred and twenty guns, and above a thousand men, blew up in the action: another ship of the line and a frigate were burned; and nine sail of the line fell into the hands of the English. Of the whole French fleet, only two ships of the line and two frigates escaped capture or destruction. General Bonaparte, however, remained in possession of Egypt, and advanced into Syria, where he took Gaza and Jaffa; but on proceeding to Acre he received a terrible check. The flotilla that was bringing his battering artillery from Alexandria, was captured by an English squadron under sir Sydney Smith, and the guns were employed.



in defence of the walls which they were at first intended to destroy. This disastrous occurrence, however, did not deter the French general from making an attack upon Acre. But the Turkish garrison being encouraged by the example and aid of sir Sidney Smith, made a vigorous resistance. After a series of desperate attacks and bloody repulses, Bonaparte at length raised the siege, and returned into Egypt.

27. In the following year, 1799, a scene of extraordinary activity was displayed in Italy and Germany. The directory having commenced a war with the king of Sardinia, obliged that prince to conclude a treaty, by which he ceded Piedmont to France; after which he retired into Sardinia. Towards the close of the preceding year, hostilities had been renewed between France and Naples; and a Neapolitan army took possession of Rome. But the French collecting their forces, soon recovered Rome, defeated the Neapolitans, and on the 19th of January, made themselves masters of the city of Naples. The king and his court retired into Sicily.

28. The unprincipled attack made on Egypt in the preceding year, had induced the Ottoman Porte to declare war against France. Austria also, being encouraged and aided by Russia, recommenced hostilities against the republic. In Germany, the archduke Charles gained considerable advantages over the French under general Jourdan, whom he defeated at Stockach. But Italy was the grand theatre of action. In the month of March, the Austrian general, Kray, twice defeated the

French in the neighbourhood of Verona. About the middle of April, marshal Suwarrow arrived with the Russian troops; and from that time the operations of the allies in Italy were rapid and uninterrupted. Several bloody actions took place, in which the Austro-Russian army was generally victorious; and notwithstanding the vigorous efforts of generals Joubert, Macdonald, and Moreau, the French were, before the month of August, driven out of Lombardy and Piedmont. Naples, in the mean while, was the scene of a new revolution. By the exertions of cardinal Ruffo, at the head of an army of Calabrians, the capital was recovered on the 20th of June; and the surrender of Rome soon after to the Neapolitans, aided by the English completed the expulsion of the French from Italy, Genoa and a small portion of its territory excepted. On the 25th of August, a bloody conflict took place at Novi, between the French and the Austro-Russian army. The French were defeated, and lost more than ten thousand men; but the allies purchased their victory with a loss nearly equal.

29. Marshal Suwarrow now proceeded to Switzerland, to join the Austrian general Hotze, and drive the French out of that country. But the military genius of general Massena disconcerted his plans. That distinguished commander, in a series of obstinate and sanguinary actions, which continued four days, between the 14th and 19th of September, repeatedly defeated the Austrian and Russian armies, under generals Hotze and Korsakow, and forced marshal Suwarrow to retire

towards the Tyrol, with the loss of his baggage, most of his artillery, and a great number of prisoners. He continued his retreat into Germany over mountains covered with snow, and by roads almost impassable, by which he sustained as much loss as if he had suffered a total defeat; and his disasters occasioned the recal of the Russian forces.

30. During these transactions the duke of York landed in Holland, with an army of thirty thousand British troops, and was joined by seventeen thousand Russians in British pay. His first operations were crowned with success; and his royal highness, after being victorious in a hard fought action, on the 2d of October took possession of Alkmaar. But after these advantages, a combination of insurmountable difficulties rendered all further progress impossible; and the duke in conjunction with admiral Mitchel, after having concluded an armistice with the French general Brune, evacuated Holland. But twelve Dutch ships of war, and thirteen Indiamen, had, on the arrival of the English, surrendered to admiral Mitchel, for the use of the stadtholder—a circumstance which almost annihilated the power of the Gallo-Batavian republic.

31. Towards the close of the year, a new revolution took place in the government of France. General Bonaparte, having found means to elude the vigilance of the British cruisers, returned from Egypt, and by the aid of the military and the council of ancients, overturned the directory. On the 10th of November the councils passed a decree appointing a consular government, consisting of



three persons,—the abbe Sieyes, Napoleon Bonaparte, and Roger Ducos. Bonaparte was constituted first consul; and in him was vested the whole executive power of the republic.

32. The campaign of 1800 was not less active and bloody than that of the preceding year. On the 9th of April a general action took place between the French army, commanded by general Massena, and that of the Austrians under general Melas. After a most sanguinary conflict, Massena was defeated, and obliged to shut himself up with his army in Genoa, where he was immediately blockaded by the Austrians on the land side, and on that of the sea by an English fleet.

33. But these disasters of the French in Italy were counterbalanced by their successes in Germany. Their army, under general Moreau, passed the Rhine at different points, and forced, with a terrible slaughter, the Austrian position at Stockach, occupied by prince Joseph of Lorraine, who was obliged to fall back upon Moskirch. Marshal Kray was then attacked by the main body of the French army under general Moreau. The conflict was extremely sanguinary: Moreau made his attacks with the greatest impetuosity, bringing up fresh columns in succession, and sacrificing numbers of men on every part of the Austrian line. Marshal Kray, however, maintained his position, until he was joined by the archduke Ferdinand, whose presence greatly animated the troops. The next morning marshal Kray began to retreat, and, having retired to Moskirch, effected a junction with prince Joseph of Lorraine. In this position

the Austrians were again attacked by general Moreau with his whole concentrated force. But the French, although many impetuous attacks were made by their infantry, under the heavy fire of the Austrian artillery, and exposed to repeated charges of cavalry, were unable to make any considerable impression, and at night both armies retired from the field with very great loss. Marshal Kray, however, recommenced his retreat, and was closely followed by Moreau. Near Biberach, the Austrians were again attacked, and forced to retire to Ulm.

34. During these transactions in Germany, a magnificent scene of war was opened in Italy.— During the months of April and May, general Massena was closely besieged in Genoa. The Austrians made many desperate but ineffectual assaults on the city; and the French often made vigorous sorties. But the aspect of military affairs was soon changed in that quarter. The first consul of France put himself at the head of an army assembled at Dijon, and commenced his march for Italy. His first division, under marshal Lasnes, left Lausanne on the 13th of May, crossed the high mountain of St. Bernard, and reached Aosta, after a march of eighty miles, performed in three days, although a great part of the way was over the Alps. Napoleon followed with the main body of his army, consisting of forty-seven thousand men, and having entered Milan, was joined by general Moncey, with eighteen thousand troops from Switzerland. The first consul now commenced a series of rapid and successful operations, and soon became mas-

ter of Lodi, Brescia, Placentia, Cremona, and Pavia. In the mean while the Austrian general Melas had sent pressing orders to general Ott to raise the siege of Genoa, and march towards the Po. These orders, arriving at the moment when general Massena proposed a capitulation, the terms were soon agreed on: the French were left at liberty to depart, with their arms, artillery, &c. to join the other armies and recommence hostilities. The memorable battle of Marengo which took place on the 14th of June, 1800, decided the issue of the Italian campaign. The French were commanded by the first consul, the Austrians by general Melas; and at three in the afternoon, victory seemed to have already declared in favour of the latter. After twelve successive charges, the Austrian cavalry had routed the whole French line, which retired in disorder to the village of St. Julian, where general Dessaix was posted with a corps de reserve. Dessaix rallied the flying troops led them on in full charge and fell gloriously at their head. At that critical moment, Napoleon rushed into the midst of the squadron, and leading them on, decided the victory. The Austrians lost about nine thousand men, exclusive of two hundred and fifty officers. On the second day after the battle, an armistice was agreed on between general Melas and the first consul.

35. The campaign in Germany was equally successful on the side of the French. The Austrians after a series of bloody conflicts with the army of general Moreau, retreated until they had passed the Inn. Moreau, rapidly advancing, entered Ba-



varia, and took possession of Munich and Ratisbon. In these circumstances, an armistice was concluded, and preliminaries of peace were agreed on. But the emperor refusing to ratify the treaty the French and Imperial armies, both strongly reinforced, the former by conscripts from France the latter by new levies from Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, and Croatia, recommenced hostilities. The battle of Hohenlinden was not of less importance to France than that of Marengo. The Austrians were defeated with a terrible carnage, and the whole centre of their army was destroyed or dispersed. This victory decided the issue of the campaign, and in a great measure that of the war. Moreau followed up his success with extraordinary activity and vigour. Advancing with astonishing rapidity, he came up with the remains of the Austrian army successively at different places, and defeated them in several actions, in one of which prince Lichtenstein and his whole staff were made prisoners. The loss of the Austrians in men, artillery, &c. during this campaign, was almost incredible. The French already menaced Vienna; and the inhabitants of that capital expected daily to see Moreau at its gates. In these circumstances, the two hostile powers concluded an armistice, which was succeeded, in the following year, by a treaty of peace.

36. In Egypt, also, the French arms were victorious. A Turkish army of eighty thousand men, commanded by the grand vizier, had advanced to El-Arish. Here general Kleber, who was now at the head of the French army, concluded on the

24th of January a treaty with the vizier. By that convention, the French were permitted to evacuate Egypt, with their arms, artillery, &c. but as Great Britain was mistress of the seas, they could not return to Europe without her permission. The cabinet of St. James's, seeing that the tendency of this treaty was to remove the French army from Egypt, and to place it in Italy to act against the Austrians, refused its ratification. In consequence of this refusal, hostilities were suddenly renewed. General Kleber made an impetuous attack on the army of the grand vizier, and more than ten thousand Turks fell in the battle. After this bloody defeat the grand vizier retreated into Syria, and left the French in the uncontrolled possession of Egypt. But in the midst of his triumphs, general Kleber, while walking on the terrace of his garden at Cairo, on the 14th of June, was assassinated by a desperate fanatic. And it may be regarded as a remarkable coincidence, that he received the fatal stroke on the same day, and about the same hour, in which his former companion in arms, general Dessaix, fell in battle at Marengo.

37. The naval campaign was distinguished by the reduction of Malta, which had been blockaded two years by the British fleets, and was compelled by famine alone to surrender. On the 5th of September, 1800, the capitulation was signed, and Great Britain obtained possession of that celebrated island, which became afterwards the ostensible cause of events of unparalleled magnitude.

38. On the 9th of February, 1801, a treaty of peace between France and Austria was concluded

at Luneville, on the basis of that of Campo Formio; and the Rhine, from Switzerland to Holland, was made the common boundary of the French republic and the German empire.

39. Great Britain was now the only enemy with which France had to contend; and Egypt was the theatre of the war. An armament was sent from England to expel the French from that country. The land forces consisted of sixteen thousand men, under the command of general sir Ralph Abercrombie, with whom a body of troops from India was to co-operate by the way of the Red Sea. On the 1st of March the British fleet, under admiral lord Keith, arrived on the coast of Egypt, and anchored in the bay of Aboukir. On the 7th the troops effected their landing, under a heavy fire of grape-shot, poured upon them by the enemy. On the 12th they advanced within sight of the French army, commanded by general Menou and advantageously posted on a ridge between the canal of Alexandria and the sea. A partial action took place on the following day, in which the English had the advantage; and on the 21st of March was fought the memorable battle of Alexandria, at the distance of about three miles from that city. The conflict was obstinate and bloody; but at length the French were defeated; their celebrated regiment of invincibles was nearly annihilated, and its standard was taken. - But the British general, sir (Ralph Abercrombie) received a mortal wound in the thigh, of which he died, a week after the battle, deeply regretted by his army. The command then devolved on general Hutchinson, who completed



the work which his predecessor had begun. The British army marched directly to Cairo, and being joined by the grand vizier, the whole combined force invested that city, which on the 27th of June capitulated, on the condition that the troops composing the garrison, with all their private property, should be conveyed by the allied powers to the nearest French ports in the Mediterranean. On the 27th of August the combined British and Ottoman armies commenced the siege of Alexandria. General Menou, seeing the impossibility of making an effectual resistance, while cut off from all communication with Europe, agreed, on the 1st of September, to surrender the city on the conditions of the capitulation of Cairo, and the whole of the French troops evacuated Egypt.

40. The expulsion of the French from that country terminated the war. Preliminaries of peace between all the belligerent powers were signed on the 1st of October, at London; and on the 25th of March, 1802, the definitive treaties were concluded at Amiens. Great Britain agreed to restore all the settlements taken from France and her allies, except Trinidad and Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope was to remain a free port; Malta was to be restored to the knights; and the French republic renounced all pretensions on the territories of Rome and Naples. Thus ended the revolutionary war, the most important contest that Europe had ever witnessed since the establishment of her existing governments.

41. During the short season of general tranquillity, the first consul of France displayed in his

political schemes all the activity that had characterised his military genius. He obtained from the consulta of the Cisalpine republic a decree conferring upon him the office of president; and the formation of a new constitution, which vested in his person not only the whole executive power, but almost the whole legislative authority. By similar means, he also rendered Switzerland dependant on his power, and subservient to his will. In France, he increased his popularity by restoring the Catholic religion, and establishing liberty of conscience; and confirmed his authority, by procuring himself to be constituted chief consul for life, with the power of nominating his successor. In the West Indies, he attempted the reduction of the revolted negroes of St. Domingo; but the renewal of the war between France and Great Britain prevented its accomplishment.

42. The treaty of Amiens had inspired all Europe with the hopes of enjoying a happy tranquillity during a long period of time; but the prospect was illusory; and the restrictions imposed on British commerce by the first consul of France, too plainly indicated that peace would be only of a short continuance. But a still more decided subject of quarrel arose. (Great Britain had, in strict conformity with the treaty of Amiens, restored all her conquests, with the single exception of Malta; but unforeseen circumstances had arisen, which rendered the restoration of that island to the knights incompatible with the interests of Great Britain,) without some previous arrangements, as such a measure would have been the same thing, in effect,

as delivering it up to the French republic. But the first consul peremptorily required its immediate evacuation by the English; accompanying his demand by complaints against the permission granted to the French princes, bishops, and other emigrants to reside in England, as well as on several other subjects. These circumstances occasioned a long train of negotiations: but the chief consul refusing to suffer Great Britain to retain, on any conditions, the possession of Malta, that island became the box of Pandora to Europe. Never before did an insulated rock, less than sixty miles in circumference, occasion so many calamities, or give rise to events of such importance and magnitude.

43. The spring of the year 1803 stands memorably distinguished in history, by the renewal of the war between France and Great Britain; in which all the powers of Europe became afterwards involved, and which ended in the extermination of the revolutionary hydra. The first consul immediately ordered the arrest and detention of all British subjects in the countries under his government or influence, a measure unprecedented in the history of modern Europe. At the same time, general Mortier, with a French army, seized on Hanover; and by occupying the banks of the Elbe and the Weser, excluded the English from the commerce of a great part of Germany. In consequence of these proceedings, the British government sent a fleet to blockade the mouths of those rivers.

44. But the invasion of England was avowedly



the grand object of the first consul. The most formidable preparations were made for that purpose in the ports of the French and Batavian republics; and a numerous flotilla was assembled at Boulogne, the general rendezvous of the troops destined for that great enterprise; while the British government adopted the most judicious measures for repelling the threatened attack. The whole year 1803 was thus spent in preparing for the contest; while the other powers of Europe, like the gods of Homer, looked on in anxious expectation of the result.

45. In the beginning of the year 1804, the preparations for invasion on one side, and resistance on the other, were completed. France and Great Britain presented to each other a formidable front; but no military or naval transaction of importance took place. All the ports of the French and Batavian republics being closely blockaded by the British fleets, and the flotillas designed for the threatened invasion not daring to venture beyond the reach of their batteries, the forces of the belligerents could not come into contact.

46. Scenes of great importance, however, opened in France. In the month of February, a conspiracy was formed against the first consul. At the head of this affair, were the celebrated general Pichegru and Georges Cadoudal. Several others also were implicated; and the famous general Moreau was accused of entering into the views of the conspirators. But the plot being discovered, and its chiefs arrested, Napoleon seized this favorable opportunity of accomplishing the destruction of a

prince of the house of Bourbon, whose abilities and enterprising spirit he had long dreaded. This was the unfortunate duc d'Enghien, who was seized on the (15th of March,) in a neutral territory, by a party of French cavalry; and being hurried away to Paris, was tried in the night by a military tribunal, and condemned on vague and unsubstantiated charges of carrying on a correspondence with the enemies of the French republic. He was shot immediately after his condemnation; and, through the whole of this trying scene, although greatly exhausted by fatigue and want of rest, during the space of six days, he displayed a dauntless fortitude, and perfect composure of mind. Of the conspirators arrested at Paris, Georges and some others were executed: Pichegru died in prison, but in what manner is uncertain: several were pardoned; and Moreau was permitted to retire to America.

47. Soon after these events, a great and important revolution took place in the government of France. On the 18th of May, the first consul, Napoleon Bonaparte, was by a decree of the tribunate, and an "Organic senatus consultum," constituted emperor of the French; and the imperial dignity was declared hereditary in his family. In order to equal, or rather surpass the glory of Charlemagne, the pope was brought from Rome to perform the ceremony of his coronation. On the 2d of December, 1804, he was anointed and crowned in the cathedral of Notre Dame, by Pius VII.; and his consort was at the same time inaugurated, and proclaimed empress. Thus did this great aspirer succeed in raising himself to an elevation

which neither Cæsar nor Cromwell could ascend; and thus vanished every shadow of republicanism in France, after hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen had fought and fallen for its establishment.

You have now, my dear Sir seen pass in review a series of events which constitute a singular and tremendous period in the history of France, and indeed of the world. The distinguishing characteristic of the French revolution is, that in every stage of its progress it baffled all political conjecture, and all tactical calculations. Posterity will look back with interest and amazement on its rise, its progress, and its termination; and statesman in future ages will examine its causes, as well as contemplate its consequences. This terrible crisis, which wrecked in seas of blood all former institutions, shook Europe to its centre, and exhibited every virtue, every vice, every passion, every talent—in fine, every thing in the French nation carried to an unprecedented extreme; and marked with an impression of grandeur, of which the most celebrated periods of Greek and Roman history afford few examples, will furnish ample materials for contemplation to the politician and the philosopher. Humanity will shudder at the crimes of the tyrants of France; but the historic page will commemorate the exertions of her warriors, and the virtues of her victims; illustrious patterns of religion, of loyalty, of conjugal affection, and filial piety. Future innovators will here find an awful lesson, and nations will contemplate with horror that dreadful delusion which sacrifices to a phantom the happiness of a whole generation; while princes and



courts will learn to observe the progress, and respect the dictates of public opinion.

With unfeigned respect and esteem, I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir, Your's, &c.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

- 1.—What powers were leagued against France?
- 2.—What French general deserted?
- 3.—When did the duke of York take Valenciennes?
- 4.—
- 5.—In what year did Toulon surrender to the allies?
- 6.—By what means was the French Republic enabled to make so great efforts?
- 7.—When was the queen of France executed?  
When was the duke of Orleans executed?
- 8.—
- 9.—When were Danton, Fabre D'Eglantine, &c. executed?
- 10.—Under whose government did France now fall?
- 11.—When was Robespierre executed?
- 12.—What number of troops did the French bring into the field in the year 1794?  
How many troops did the allies bring into the field?
- 13.—What was the issue of the revolt of La Vendee?
- 14.—When did general Pichegru take possession of Amsterdam?
- 15.—In what year did Prussia and Spain conclude treaties of peace with the French republic?
- 16.—When did the dauphin die?
- 17.—When did Napoleon Bonaparte first come into notice?
- 18.—In what year did general Moreau make his celebrated retreat from Germany?
- 19.—When was the battle of Arcola fought?
- 20.—When did Spain declare war against Great Britain?
- 21.—In what year did the French seize Venice?  
When was the peace of Campo Formio concluded, and between what powers?

22.—

- 23.—When was general Pichegru, &c. transported to Cayenne? *1795*
- 24.—In what year was the pope carried as a prisoner into France? *1798*
- 25.—When did Bonaparte take Alexandria? *1798*  
When did he make himself master of Egypt? *1798*
- 26.—When was the French fleet destroyed in the bay of Aboukir by admiral Nelson? *1798*
- 27.—In what year did the French take Naples? *1798*
- 28.—When did cardinal Ruffo drive the French from Naples? *1798*
- 29.—When did general Massena defeat the Austrian and Russian armies in Switzerland, and oblige marshal Suwarrow to retreat into Germany? *1799*
- 30.—In what year did the duke of York undertake an expedition into Holland? *1799*
- 31.—When was Bonaparte made first consul? *1799*
- 32.—When was general Massena defeated, and obliged to take refuge in Genoa? *1800*
- 33.—In what campaign did general Moreau compel marshal Kray to retire to Ulm? *1800*
- 34.—When was the battle of Marengo? *1800*  
What was the loss of the Austrians? *1800*
- 35.—Who defeated the Austrians at Hohenlinden, and threatened Vienna? *1800*
- 36.—When was general Kleber assassinated? *1800*
- 37.—When was Malta taken by the English? *1800*
- 38.—When was the peace of Luneville concluded? *1796*
- 39.—In what year, and on what day was the battle of Alexandria? *1801*  
What British general fell in that action?
- 40.—In what year was the peace of Amiens concluded? *1802*
- 41.—
- 42.—What was the chief cause, or at least the ostensible pretext for renewing the war?
- 43.—In what year was the war renewed? *1803*
- 44.—In what manner was the year 1803 spent?
- 45.—
- 46.—When was the duc d'Enghien seized, &c.  
What was the end of general Pichegru?
- 47.—In what year, &c. was Napoleon Buonaparte constituted emperor of the French? *1804*

## [LETTER XII.]

*Comprising a period of eleven years and one month, from the commencement of the empire, 18th of May, 1804, to the battle of Waterloo, and the complete establishment of the house of Bourbon.*

| Sovereigns of France.     | King of Great Britain. |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Napoleon.<br>Louis XVIII. | George III.            |

DEAR SIR,

A STRIKING picture is delineated by Milton, where he introduces the angel exhibiting to the primæval parent of mankind a view of the transactions which were to take place amongst his posterity. But if the poetical fiction had been realized,—if the awful book of fate had been unfolded to the first of the human race,—scarcely any thing in the mysterious volume would have appeared more astonishing, than the events which you are now about to contemplate. The tremendous drama, which has excited alternately the hopes and the fears of the existing generation, is now closed; but its important scenes, depicted in the pages of history, will attract the attention of the most distant posterity. A circumstantial detail of the memorable transactions of this extraordinary period would fill many ponderous volumes. All that is necessary, and indeed all that can be



attempted in this historical compendium, is to exhibit the grand outlines of the picture: these will escape the destructive power of time, when the more minute traits shall be obliterated, and the faded colouring become uninteresting.

1. The French republic, like that of ancient Rome, being changed into a monarchy resting entirely on a military basis, its terrible power placed in the hands of a man trained from his youth to war and bloodshed, became more formidable and dangerous by being thus concentrated. At the same time, the flames of war began to spread to a greater extent, and with more direful havoc. The court of Madrid agreed to furnish France with fifteen ships of the line, and twenty-four thousand troops; and on the 14th of December, 1804, declared war against England.

2. Until this time, the efforts of the belligerent powers had been displayed only in tremendous preparations, and the war had been extremely barren in regard to events; but the year 1805 exhibited a scene of activity, to which no parallel is found in the annals of Europe. On the 21st of October, the combined French and Spanish fleets, consisting of thirty-three ships of the line, besides frigates, corvettes, &c. commanded by admiral Villeneuve, was totally defeated off Cape Trafalgar, by lord Nelson. Of the combined fleets, nineteen sail of the line were captured; and this memorable defeat nearly annihilated the naval power of France and Spain. But it also terminated the splendid career of the British hero; who, being mortally wounded in the breast by a musket-ball, fell in the moment of victory.

3. But although France was unfortunate in her naval enterprises, her successes on the continent were astonishing and unprecedented. In the early part of the year, the Cisalpine republic had been erected into a monarchy, and Napoleon being on the 18th of March proclaimed its sovereign, acquired the two-fold title of emperor of the French and king of Italy. He immediately annexed the Ligurian republic or Genoese territory to the Italian kingdom; and this incorporation, with other incroachments, raised up against him a formidable host of enemies. In order to reduce his exorbitant power, a stupendous political and military plan was formed by the British cabinet; and most of the continental powers agreeing to its proposals, entered into a confederacy against France. By a treaty concluded in the month of April, the combined powers engaged to bring into the field, a force of five hundred thousand men; of these Austria was to furnish three hundred and twenty thousand; Russia, one hundred and fifteen thousand; and Naples, Sweden, Hanover, &c. were to supply the remaining sixty-five thousand; Great Britain was to allow subsidies to the allied armies, at the rate of 12*l.* 10*s.* per man.

4. France having at this time a disposable force of five hundred thousand effective troops, in the most perfect state of discipline, and commanded by generals of consummate abilities, presented a formidable front to the continental confederacy. The summer was spent in preparations; and in the beginning of September the armies were put in motion. The French emperor left Paris on the

24th of September; and the different divisions of the grand army under Murat, duke of Berg, and the marshals Bernadotte, Marmont, Lasnes, Ney, Soult, and Davoust, had all passed the Rhine before the end of the month. The Austrians in the mean while had advanced in order to check their progress; but an unexpected movement of the French seems to have decided the issue of the campaign. Marshals Bernadotte and Marmont with a corps of sixty thousand men, pushed through the neutral territory of Anspach, passed the Danube, and entered Bavaria. Napoleon having at the same time passed that river at Donavert with the main body of the army, formed a junction with Bernadotte, who on the following day, 11th of October, took possession of Munich. By these movements the French gained a position in the rear of the Austrian armies, and cut off their communication with Vienna. And on the 20th of October general Mack, who was in Ulm, with thirty-four thousand men, surrendered the place and his troops to the French emperor, in a manner extremely mysterious. This was a severe stroke to the Austrians; but the reasons which induced general Mack to take so singular a step have never been satisfactorily explained.

5. The long expected Russians began at length to make their appearance, and the first division of their army joined the Austrians near the river Inn. But on the advance of the French, the Austro-Russian army not being sufficiently strong to wait the attack, abandoned its position, and retired towards Moravia. On the 7th of November, the emperor



Francis II. set out for Olmutz, to take the command of his army; and Vienna surrendered by capitulation to the French.

6. Italy in the mean while was also a theatre of contest. The Austrian army in that quarter was commanded by the archduke Charles, and that of the French by general Massena. On the 12th of November, a sanguinary action took place near the banks of the Tagliamento; but the victory remained undecided. This action closed the Italian campaign. The critical state of affairs in Germany determined the archduke to evacuate Italy; and he effected his retreat into Austria with great skill and celerity, although too late to preserve the capital.

7. The grand army commanded by the emperor Alexander in person, arrived at last in Moravia. And their armies having formed a junction, the two emperors of Russia and Germany commenced their operations. On the 27th of November their combined forces were concentrated at Olmutz, and on the 30th they advanced to Austerlitz, where the grand contest was decided.

8. The 2d of December 1805 was the eventful day which laid the continent of Europe for some years at the feet of the French emperor. The two hostile armies were nearly equal in number, the French having a hundred thousand men in the field, and the confederates about a hundred and five thousand, of whom eighty thousand were Russians. At the moment of sun-rise Napoleon gave orders for the attack; and at one in the afternoon the victory was decided in his favour. The French

took a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon and forty-five standards. According to the official reports published at Paris, above eighteen thousand Russians and Austrians were left dead on the field, and twenty thousand were made prisoners. But, as is commonly the case, the accounts published by the opposite parties disagree, both with respect to the numbers brought into the field, and the extent of their loss. The consequences, however, make it plainly appear that the victory was completely decisive on the side of the French. On the third day after the battle, the two emperors, Napoleon and Francis had an interview, and concluded an armistice, in which the emperor of Russia was afterwards included, on condition that he should withdraw his forces and evacuate Germany and Austrian Poland! This armistice was followed by a peace between France and Austria, which was concluded at Presburg on the 26th of December. By this treaty Austria ceded the city of Venice, with all the Venetian territory and islands to the Italian kingdom. Thus ended this memorable contest, which in the grandeur of its plan, the magnitude of its events, and the rapidity of its decision, stands without any parallel in the annals of the world.

9. These extraordinary events produced important changes in the political system of the continent. The French emperor had no sooner concluded the treaty of peace with Austria, than he issued on the following day a decree of deposition against the king of Naples, and conferred the crown on his own brother, Joseph Bonaparte. In

the beginning of the year 1806 Joseph with a French army marched to Naples, and seized on that kingdom.

10. In the month of June the same year, Napoleon changed the Batavian republic into a monarchy, and gave its crown to his brother Louis, whom, notwithstanding, he afterwards compelled to abdicate. This year was also formed that union of several of the German princes, denominated the confederation of the Rhine, of which the French emperor was declared the protector. And in consequence of this arrangement, which dissolved the Germanic constitution, Francis II. resigned his office of emperor of Germany, and assumed the title of emperor of Austria.

11. The period, my dear Sir, which is here presented to your inspection, may justly be stiled the age of wonders. In the preceding year the court of Berlin rejected the earnest and repeated solicitations of Austria and Russia to join the grand continental confederacy, when the Prussian power, would, almost beyond the possibility of doubt, have turned the scale in its favour. But, within the space of little more than twelve months, Prussia undertook to contend single-handed with the gigantic power of France. The king of Prussia insisted that all the French troops should be withdrawn from the territories of the Rhenish confederation: with this requisition Napoleon refused to comply. In the beginning of October his Prussian majesty and the French emperor took the field, and immediately commenced hostilities. Several partial actions took place; in one of which



prince Louis of Prussia fell gloriously at the head of his division.

12. This disaster, however, was only the prelude to the most decisive defeat that the Prussians had ever experienced since the foundation of their monarchy. On the 13th of October, the king of Prussia having concentrated his forces, formed his whole army in order of battle near Auerstadt. On the afternoon of the same day, the emperor of the French came to Jena and reconnoitred the Prussian position. The tremendous battle of Jena took place the next morning, 14th of October 1806. The Prussian army consisted of a hundred and twenty-six thousand of the finest troops in the world, and that of the French was at least equal in number. The conflict was sanguinary in the extreme. Two hundred and fifty thousand men, with more than seven hundred pieces of cannon scattered death in every direction, and exhibited one of the most awful scenes that imagination can paint. The result was decisive in favour of Napoleon. The loss of the Prussians amounted to about twenty thousand killed and wounded, and thirty thousand prisoners, amongst whom were twenty generals, besides three hundred pieces of artillery. The duke of Brunswick, who had formerly been the companion in arms of Frederic the Great, and acquired a distinguished reputation in the seven years' war, was mortally wounded and died soon after at Altona. The king of Prussia retired to Koningsberg with a view of collecting another army.

13. After this signal victory, the French push-

ed forward into Prussia without losing a moment of time. The strong fortress of Magdeburg surrendered; the important city of Lubeck was taken by assault, and General Blucher, with nine thousand men, was obliged to capitulate, after a great part of his troops had been killed or made prisoners. The French then took possession of Berlin: the different corps of the Prussian army successively surrendered almost without resistance. Never had Europe seen conquests so rapid. Within the short space of five weeks, from the 9th of October to the 12th of November, the French had, if their accounts can be credited, not less than a hundred and forty thousand prisoners, two hundred and fifty standards, and four thousand eight hundred pieces of artillery.

14. The French continuing to advance with rapidity, passed the Oder, took all the towns and fortresses in their route, and at length approached the Vistula. These events excited the emperor Alexander to make a grand effort for the protection of his dominions. A numerous and formidable force was collected from every part of his extensive empire; and the Russian army, of which general Beningsen was appointed the commander, took a position at Pultusk. Here it was attacked on the 26th of December by the French emperor. After an obstinate and sanguinary conflict, the French were repulsed, but the loss on each side was nearly equal.

15. Such was the state of affairs at the close of the year 1806. The hostile armies did not remain long inactive. The battle of Pultusk was soon

followed by that of Eylau, which commenced on the 7th of February 1807, and continued, with only a short intermission, until midnight on the 8th. Of this battle, as well as of that of Pultusk, the French and Russian accounts are so contradictory, as to render it impossible to ascertain the extent of their loss; but both agree that the carnage was dreadful. Both sides, indeed, claimed the victory, but subsequent circumstances showed that neither could boast of any important advantages.

16. After this bloody conflict, the grand armies of France and Russia remained some time in a state of inactivity. But detached corps of the French reduced the greatest part of Pomerania. About the middle of April, a division of the French army laid siege to Dantzic, and on the 28th May, that large and opulent city surrendered, after sustaining a most destructive cannonade and bombardment. The grand armies in the mean while were receiving strong reinforcements. Napoleon, in order to concentrate his forces, called in his detachments. And the emperor of Russia set out from Petersburg to his army, while large bodies of troops were moving from all parts of the empire towards the theatre of the war.

17. At length the bloody battle of Friedland, fought on the 14th of June, 1807, decided the contest. The French emperor, resolving to attack the Russian position, animated his troops by reminding them of the victory of Marengo, of which that day was the anniversary. The action began a little past five in the evening: the attacks made



by the French were impetuous and incessant: the resistance was obstinate; and the carnage on both sides was terrible. At length the desperate conflict terminated in the total defeat of the Russians, who are said to have left fifteen thousand dead on the field. On the following day marshal Soult, with a division of the French army, took possession of Königsberg; where he found twenty thousand wounded Russians and Prussians, with a large quantity of corn and warlike stores.

18. The decisive battle of Friedland was followed by an interview between the emperors of France and Russia and the king of Prussia; and on the 7th of July treaties of peace were concluded between the three belligerents. Russia acknowledged the confederation of the Rhine. Jerome Bonaparte was constituted king of Westphalia, and his kingdom, was enlarged by the cession of all the Prussian territories to the West of the Elbe. Saxony was erected into a kingdom. to which was annexed the city and territory of Warsaw. Dantzic was restored to its ancient independence, but its port as well as those of Prussia, was to be shut against the vessels and trade of Great Britain.

19. The extraordinary and rapid successes of the French emperor in the war against Prussia and Russia, were productive of great and singular effects on the political and commercial system of Europe. Having overcome all opposition in the north, he found himself at leisure to pursue his schemes of aggrandisement in the south; and one of these may be considered as a phenomenon

in history. A French army, under general Junot, having marched through Spain into Portugal, and approached the capital, the court of Lisbon resolved on a migration to the southern hemisphere. On the 29th of November, 1807, when the French were already arrived in the vicinity of Lisbon, and about to enter the city, the Portuguese fleet, having on board the queen, the prince of Brazil, and the whole royal family of Braganza, with a number of persons attached to its fortunes, sailed out of the Tagus; and on the 18th of January the following year arrived at Rio de Janeiro, which was made the seat of the government. The French entered Lisbon without opposition, and consequently became masters of Portugal.

20. In the following month of February, 1808, Napoleon seized on the whole of Italy, except Naples, of which his brother Joseph was king. Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, were incorporated with the French empire. Rome, with the whole of the papal territory, was annexed to the Italian kingdom. At this time changes were continually taking place in the political relations of the courts of Europe, and those that one moment were allies, in the next were enemies.\* But as these alternate alliances and hostilities do not properly

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\*N. B. The enquiring reader will meet with a circumstantial account of these matters, with their causes and consequences, as well as of all the transactions that have taken place since the French revolution, in the author's history of England, or his general history of Europe since the year 1783; both published by Longman and Co. London.

constitute any part of the history of France, we shall omit the detail of them in this epistolary compendium, and adhere to our subject. It will not, however, be amiss to observe, that in consequence of these fluctuations and the preponderating power of France, all the ports of Europe, except those of Sicily and Sweden, were in the beginning of the year 1808, shut against the vessels and trade of Great Britain.

21. The most important revolutions by which this period was marked were those which took place in Spain. While the court of Madrid was agitated by factions, the French emperor had, under the character of a friend and an ally, introduced his armies into Spain, secured many of the chief towns, and seized the most commanding positions. In the beginning of March, great popular tumults took place, and on the 19th of that month, his catholic majesty abdicated the throne in favour of his son the prince of Asturia. Soon after this event, the two kings of Spain, Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. with the whole of the royal family, were allured to an interview with the emperor of the French at Bayonne. The grand duke of Berg, with a French army entered Madrid; but his arrival was followed by such terrible insurrections of the people, that he found great difficulty in keeping possession of the city. In the meanwhile, Napoleon, having both the kings in his power, obliged them to sign a formal abdication; and on the 6th of June conferred the crown of Spain on his brother Joseph, who resigned his



kingdom of Naples to prince Joachim Murat, grand duke of Berg.

22. This unprincipled conduct of the French emperor proved the signal for a general insurrection in Spain. The patriotic flame first burst out in the province of Asturia, and was rapidly communicated to every part of the kingdom. The assistance of England was solicited by the patriots, and readily granted. Their operations commenced with an ardour that showed their enthusiasm in the cause of national independence. On the 14th of June the French squadron in the harbour of Cadiz, after sustaining a severe cannonade from the city, surrendered to the Spaniards. On the 28th, the French general Moncey, having made an assault on Valencia, was repulsed with a terrible carnage; and on the 30th his army was totally defeated by the patriots under generals Cerbellon and Caro. General Palafox also repulsed the French in two desperate attacks which they made on Saragossa. But the most important transaction took place in the neighborhood of Andujar, where, on the 20th of July, general Dupont, with an army of twelve thousand men, and a detachment of eight thousand that was coming to join him, surrendered to the Spanish patriots under general Castanos. By a remarkable coincidence, king Joseph made his public entry into Madrid on the same day that was rendered so inauspicious to his reign by the surrender of general Dupont and his army. The news of that event, and the approach of Castanos, suggested the necessity of a timely flight. On the 27th of July the intrusive monarch, after a re-

sidence of only seven days, retired with precipitation from Madrid, while the patriots advanced and took possession of that capital. The French now began to retreat from the southern and middle provinces of Spain, and to concentrate their forces near the banks of the Ebro. About the middle of August, ten thousand Spanish troops, under the command of the marquis Romana, made their escape from the Danish islands of Langoland and Funen, where they had been stationed as auxiliaries to France, and being conveyed by a British squadron to Spain, they and their general joined the patriotic army.

23. At this important crisis Portugal followed the example of Spain. A general insurrection took place in the northern provinces; and the French were obliged to concentrate their forces in Lisbon and its vicinity. The British government, resolving to give every possible aid to the Spanish and Portuguese patriots, sent into Portugal a force of fourteen thousand men; under the command of general sir Arthur Wellesley, who, on the 21st of August, defeated general Junot at the village of Vimiera. And on the 30th of that month was signed the convention of Cintra, by which it was agreed that the French should evacuate Portugal, and be conveyed, with all their arms, artillery, ammunition &c. to France, in British vessels, without any restrictions in regard to future service.

24. On the 26th of October the British army, now commanded by general sir John Moore, commenced its march from Lisbon into Spain, and proceeded to Salamanca. In the month of No-

vember the emperor of the French arrived in Spain, defeated the patriotic armies, and on the 4th of December made himself master of Madrid. General Moore, on receiving intelligence of the surrender of the Spanish capital, meditated a junction with the marquis Romana. In this view he marched to Majorga, and being joined by general Baird, who had landed with a body of British troops at Corunna, the whole army, amounting to near twenty-nine thousand men, advanced to Sahagan. Napoleon had now formed the grand project of cutting off the retreat of the British troops; and having for this purpose put in motion his different divisions, under the dukes of Dalmatia, Dantzic, Abrantes and Treviso, he himself marched from Madrid on the 18th December, with thirty two thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry. Thus the whole disposable force of the French, amounting to near seventy thousand men, forming an irregular crescent, was advancing in radii to inclose the British army.\*

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\*Titles of the principal ministers and marshals of France under Napoleon's reign, requisite to be known by those who read the history of that period:—

MINISTERS:

Talleyrand, prince of Benevento.

Fouche, duke of Otranto.

MARSHALS:

Berthier, prince of Neufchatel.

Bernadotte, prince of Ponte Corvo, now king of Sweden.

Ney, duke of Elchingen, afterwards prince of Moskva.

Massena, duke of Rivoli, prince of Esling.

Soult, duke of Dalmatia.



25. General Moore was no sooner apprised of these movements than he commenced a precipitate retreat through Gallicia. The march of the French emperor was greatly retarded by the difficult passage of the mountains of Guadarama, which were covered with a deep snow, as well as by the incessant rains and overflowing torrents. But notwithstanding these difficulties, he had marched three hundred miles from the 18th of December, 1808, the day of his departure from Madrid, to the 2d of January, 1809, when he arrived at Astorga. Finding, however, that the expected prey had eluded his grasp, he committed to marshal Soult, duke of Dalmatia, the future operations against the English.

26. On the 11th of January, 1809, the British army, after fourteen days of forced and harassing

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Suchet, duke of Albufuera.  
 Davoust, duke of Auerstadt.  
 Marmont, duke of Ragusa.  
 Mortier, duke of Treviso.  
 Junot, duke of Abrantes.  
 Lasnes, duke of Montebello.  
 Le Febvre, duke of Dantzic.  
 Macdonald, duke of Tarentum.  
 Augereau, duke of Castiglione.  
 Victor, duke of Belluno.  
 Savary, duke of Rovigo.  
 Bessieres, duke of Istria.  
 Kellerman, duke of Valmy.  
 Arrighis, duke of Padua.  
 Caulincourt, duke of Vicenza.  
 Moncey, duke of Conegliano.  
 Duroc, duke of Friuli.

marches, reached Corunna. The duke of Dalmatia with his division soon after arrived, and on the 16th, made an impetuous attack on the English, who were drawn up before the walls of the town. The French were repulsed; but general Baird lost an arm, and the commander-in-chief, sir John Moore, received a mortal wound, of which he expired before midnight. He fell in the prime of life, but he fell covered with glory. The command devolved on general Hope, under whose able direction the troops were safely embarked.

27. After the departure of the British forces, the most vigorous efforts were made by the French to accomplish the entire subjugation of Spain. The reduction of Saragossa was an event which the lapse of ages can never consign to oblivion. The siege was conducted by marshal Lasnes, duke of Montebello, one of the ablest of the French commanders; while Palafox, captain-general of Arragon, defended the city, which was taken on the 17th of February, after a series of tremendous and incessant assaults, and a resistance unparalleled in modern history. About the same time the duke of Dalmatia advanced through Gallicia into Portugal, and made himself master of Oporto.

28. At this critical juncture, a new war which broke out in Germany, obliged the French emperor to relax his efforts in the Peninsula. Austria resolved to make a magnanimous, but hazardous attempt to regain her former power, which had been so greatly abridged by the treaty of Presburg. The courts of Vienna and the Tuilleries made tremendous preparations for war. On the 9th of

April, the Austrians commenced hostilities, by taking possession of Munich; and the king of Bavaria, with his troops, joined the French. On the 19th, Napoleon arrived at the army, and immediately commenced a train of rapid operations. On the following day, he defeated a corps of Austrians at Abensberg, and carried Landshut by assault. On the 21st, he defeated their grand army, commanded by the archduke Charles, and strongly posted at Eckmuhl; and on the 23rd, the French having advanced to Ratisbon, took that city by storm. The Austrians are said to have lost not less than fifty thousand prisoners in these different actions.

29. After these rapid successes, Napoleon advanced directly to Vienna; and on the 23rd of May, the Austrian capital surrendered to his arms. The archduke having taken a position on the north side of the Danube, the French emperor fixed his head-quarters at Ebensdorf, on the right bank of that river. On the 20th of May, the French having, by means of pontoons, passed the first channel of the Danube, took possession of the island of In der Lobau; and on the following day, they began to cross the second channel. But before their whole army had reached the north bank, they were attacked by the archduke, and a bloody but indecisive, action ensued. During the night, the other part of the French army passed over the channel; and the next morning, 23d of May, the battle recommenced in the most sanguinary manner. The villages of Esling and Aspern were the principal theatres of the action, in which nearly twelve thou-



sand fell on each side. Neither of the contending parties could boast of a victory; but the Austrians appear to have had the advantage, as the French retreated to their former position in the island of Inder Lobau, although they still retained a fortified work on the north bank of the Danube. This bloody action terminated the adventurous and splendid career of marshal Lasnes duke of Montebello, who received a mortal wound, of which he soon after died.

30. During the short interval of inaction which succeeded this sanguinary conflict, the French emperor and the archduke were employed in making preparations for deciding the contest; and the latter completed a line of works which seemed to bid defiance to every mode of attack. At length, in the night of the 4th of June, which was extremely dark and tempestuous, the whole French army passed over to the northern bank of the Danube, and turned the works which the Austrians had constructed with extraordinary labour and military skill. The battle of Wagram commenced the next day about noon, and continued until nine in the evening, when the victory still remained undecided. On the 6th, the action was renewed, and the Austrians were totally defeated. A treaty of peace between France and Austria, was soon after concluded. The emperor of Austria ceded Saltzburg, the Tyrol, and the Voralberg, to the king of Bavaria: part of Bohemia, and Austrian Poland, to the king of Saxony; and part of Carniola, Croatia, &c. to the kingdom of Italy. Thus all the efforts of the continental powers, instead of

humbling, only contributed to the aggrandisement of the French emperor.

31. In Spain, however, Napoleon began to meet with a check to his power. Another British army, of about thirty thousand men, under the command of general sir Arthur Wellesley, arriving in the Tagus, the French were soon driven out of Portugal. The British forces then advanced into Spain; and having formed a junction with general Cuesta, the united armies consisting of about seventy thousand men, took a strong position at Talavera, on the Tagus. Here they were attacked on the evening of the 27th of July, by Joseph Bonaparte whose army was at least equal in number. After a severe conflict, the French were repulsed with great loss; but they retired in regular order.

32. During these transactions, the British government was preparing a grand expedition, of which the objects were the destruction of the French fleet in the Scheldt, the conquest of the island of Walcheren, and, if possible, of the city of Antwerp. The armament consisted of a powerful fleet, and above thirty thousand land forces, under the command of lord Chatham. But, although the first operations were successful and brilliant, the enterprise terminated in disaster. Flushing surrendered to the British arms on the 15th of August, after a short but vigorous siege; and lord Chatham made himself master of the whole island of Walcheren. But a variety of circumstances rendered all further progress impossible; and a malignant fever having made such ravages amongst the troops, as to threaten their total destruction,

the English, about the middle of December; abandoned that unhealthy island

33. The campaign of 1810 opened with an aspect favourable to France. In Spain, different divisions of the French having forced the passes of the Sierra Morena, made themselves masters of the provinces of Grenada and Andalusia. In consequence of this irruption, the Spanish junto retired from Seville to Cadiz; a city which, by its insular situation, could bid defiance to any attack from the enemy. In the mean while, general Massena, formerly duke of Rivoli, but who from his bravery on the banks of the Danube was now distinguished by the title of prince of Esling, having taken the command of the grand army of France, made preparations for the conquest of Portugal. General Wellesley, who from his victory at Talavera had been created lord Wellington, in order to cover that country against the attempts of the French, remained some time at Celerico de la Guarda, without hazarding an action; and afterwards retiring towards Lisbon, took an exceedingly strong position at Torres Vedras, with his right extending to the Tagus. The prince of Esling followed his movements, and encamped in his front

34. This year was distinguished by an event which seemed to insure the stability of Napoleon's throne, and promised the establishment of his dynasty. On the 16th of December preceding, the emperor of the French and his consort had dissolved their marriage by mutual consent; and on the 1st of April, 1810, Napoleon celebrated his nuptials with the princess Maria Louisa of Austria,



daughter of the emperor Francis II; but his expectation of consolidating his power by that alliance proved to be fallacious.

35. The year 1811 exhibited a scene of great activity in Spain; and it would be impossible to describe in this compendium, the various operations that took place in that kingdom. The French had commenced the siege of Cadiz; but the situation of that city baffled all their attempts; and on the 5th of March, lieutenant general Graham defeated, on the heights of Barrosa, a corps of their army commanded by marshal Victor, duke of Belluno.

36. The position occupied by Lord Wellington at Torres Vedras was strong by nature, and rendered impregnable by art. The prince of Esling, therefore seeing it impossible to attack the British army with any prospect of success, began his retreat from Santarem about the same time that the corps of marshal Victor was defeated on the heights of Barrosa. In retiring through Portugal, the French were greatly harassed by lord Wellington, who constantly hung on their rear: but Massena tarnished his military reputation by the cruelties which he suffered his troops to commit, and the desolation that marked his route.

37. On the 8th of May, marshal Beresford, who had been appointed by the prince of Brazil to the chief command of the Portuguese army, invested Badajoz. But on receiving intelligence that the duke of Dalmatia was advancing to its relief, the British general raised the siege; and being joined by the Spanish generals Blake and Castanos, pre-

pared to meet the enemy. On the 16th of May was fought, the battle of Albuera, one of the most sanguinary that occurred during the war; as the French lost nearly the half, and the the allies not much less than a-third of the troops they brought into the field. The allies purchased the victory with the loss of above six thousand men; and marshal Soult being driven over the small river Albuera, with the loss of nine thousand, retired towards Seville. Marshal Beresford returned to the siege of Badajoz, which he again raised, in consequence of the junction of the two armies of Soult and Marmont. In the eastern part of Spain, the operations of the French were successful. On the 28th of June, marshal Suchet carried Tarragona by assault: on the 26th of October, he made himself master of the castle of Murviedro, built on the ruins of the ancient Saguntum; and on the 26th of December, he defeated general Blake, who with his army took refuge in Valencia.

38. The campaign of 1812 opened with success on the side of the French. On the 9th of January, Marshal Suchet made himself master of the large and important city of Valencia. General Blake, who had shut himself up in the place surrendered with an army of sixteen thousand men, and vast magazines fell into the hands of the French. These signal successes obtained for marshal Suchet the title of duke of Albufuera. But the acquisition of Valencia was counterbalanced by the loss of Ciudad Rodrigo, and Badajoz; which were taken, the former on the 19th of January, and the latter on the 16th of March, by Lord

Wellington, although not without a very considerable loss. The Spanish generals, in the mean while, carried on the war in other parts of the kingdom with activity and vigour, though not with great success.

39. After the reduction of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, Lord Wellington marched into the interior of Spain; and having advanced to Salamanca, entered that city amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. A grand scene of military operations was soon after opened. The French army, now commanded by marshal Marmont, duke of Ragusa, began in the evening of the 16th of July to make a series of intricate movements, preparatory to the battle of Salamanca; which commenced on the 22d, about two in the afternoon, and continued until night. After a variety of attacks, repulses, and evolutions, in which great military skill was displayed on both sides, the action terminated in the total defeat of the French. The allies purchased their victory with the loss of above five thousand killed and wounded: that of the French was much greater, besides seven thousand prisoners; and their general, the duke of Ragusa, was severely wounded in the beginning of the action. The surrender of Madrid to the allies was one of the first consequences of this victory.

40. Soon after the battle of Salamanca, the allies advanced to Burgos, and made themselves masters of some of the outworks; but they failed in all their attempts against the castle, and at length retired from before the place with great loss. In the mean while, the different Spanish corps had se-



veral skirmishes with the French and were often successful. The guerillas, a sort of irregular forces, also carried on their desultory operations with unremitting activity. In the autumn, the French, who had long but ineffectually besieged Cadiz, broke up their camp, and evacuated all the south of Spain. The British commander, who had already been created earl, and afterwards marquis of Wellington and duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, was now, by a decree of the regency and the cortes, constituted generalissimo of the Spanish armies, a circumstance which gave to the national force an union and energy which had long been wanted.

41. While France had, during this long war, been constantly aggrandizing herself on the continent, her flag was expelled from the ocean, her marine was nearly annihilated, and she saw herself deprived of all her colonies. In the year 1810, Guadaloupe, and St. Eustatius, the only remaining islands belonging to the French and the Dutch in the West Indies, surrendered to the British arms: the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon also underwent the same fate. And in the month of August, the following year, the opulent and commercial city of Batavia, with the whole island of Java, was reduced by a British armament sent out from Bengal. These losses completed the extinction of the French and the Batavian power in both the East and the West Indies.

42. In the mean while, the views of Napoleon had been invariably directed towards the exclusion of the British trade from the continent of Europe; and in this design he had, at one time, in a

great measure succeeded. But that divine providence which rules the world, often frustrates the deep laid plans of politicians. Events are sometimes diametrically opposite to expectation; and this grand project of the French emperor, in which he persevered with inflexible constancy, proved the rock on which his exorbitant power was finally wrecked, without leaving a trace behind.

43. The year 1812 will stand as an epoch in history, distinguished by the commencement of a war, which was ultimately productive of events, such as Europe had never witnessed since the descendants of Japhet first spread themselves over her ample domain. When we consider the elevated rank of some of the persons concerned in the tremendous military drama, the extraordinary talents of others, the magnitude of the events, and the importance of the final catastrophe—this clash of contending nations, may be denominated the war of giants.

44. The Russian emperor disdaining any longer to submit to the restrictions of the continental system established by the ruler of France, resolved to assert the independence, and extend the commerce of his empire, by opening his ports to the ships of all nations. This magnanimous resolution gave rise to a war between France and Russia, of which the first campaign was attended with a destruction of the human species unexampled in modern history. Towards the end of June, the emperor of the French entered the Russian dominions with an army of nearly three hundred thousand men, in the highest state of equipment and discipline. With this tremendous force he com-

pelled the Russians to abandon their fortified camp at Drissa, and after being victorious in the battles of Mohilow and Poltosk, as well as in several other actions, he burned the large city of Smolenskow. Still proceeding into the interior of Russia, he remained master of the field at the sanguinary battle of Borodino; but the carnage was almost incredible, and the loss on both sides nearly equal. A view of the ensanguined scene is said to have drawn from the French emperor this exclamation, "Jamais l'on n'a vu un pareil champ-de-bataille." "Never has there been seen such a field of battle."

45. After this bloody victory the emperor of the French advanced to Moscow. On the 15th of September he entered that capital, and fixed his head quarters in the Kremlin, the ancient and magnificent palace of the czars. But the city having been set on fire by the Russians, the invader found himself in the midst of smoking ruins.

46. Until this critical moment the military career of the French emperor had displayed an unvaried scene of splendid success. The crimson wing of victory had fanned his banners; and most of the nations of Europe regarded his arms as invincible. Accustomed so long to the smiles of fortune, he scarcely supposed that she ever could frown, and when he sat down on the throne of the czars, he never thought of the abyss that was opening under his feet.

47. Napoleon was no sooner master of Moscow than he offered peace to the emperor Alexander, who magnanimously rejected his proposals. The



invader now saw the impossibility of procuring supplies for his troops during the severe season that was approaching. The Russian forces in the mean while daily increased in numbers, fresh troops arriving from different quarters; and the winter set in both somewhat sooner, and with greater severity than usual. In these circumstances Napoleon began his retreat on the 18th of October exposed to the incessant attacks of the Russians. In these bloody encounters the French were generally defeated; the severity of the season in that rigorous climate, in conjunction with hunger and fatigue, being more destructive than the sword, their once formidable army was nearly annihilated; and their retreat exhibited a scene of slaughter and loss, to which history scarcely affords any parallel. From comparing a variety of documents, it appears that there perished of the French between eighty and ninety thousand, besides above a hundred and sixty thousand that were made prisoners; so that this disastrous retreat cost Napoleon near two hundred and fifty thousand men, forty thousand horses, and above eleven hundred pieces of artillery, which he had carried from France or taken from the Russians. The French emperor, who with his principal generals escaped with great difficulty, reached Paris about the end of December.

48. The victorious Russians who now had the emperor Alexander at their head, having driven the French beyond the frontier, still continued the pursuit, and advanced without opposition into

Germany. On the 4th of March 1813, they entered Berlin, where they were received not as invaders, but as deliverers from the tyrannical yoke of France. The nations who had for a time been obliged to submit to the overwhelming power of Napoleon, began to resolve on effecting their emancipation. Prussia set the example, which was followed by several German states; and the crown prince of Sweden, Bernadotte, formerly one of Napoleon's generals, joined in the confederacy against France.

49. In the mean while the shattered remnants of the French army having reached the Elbe, and received some reinforcements, concentrated themselves on the line of that river. And the emperor having ordered fresh levies of conscripts, made formidable preparations for the ensuing campaign. Large bodies of troops marched from all parts of France to the banks of the Elbe: hostilities commenced with great vigour: in several severe actions the French had the advantage; and Europe was astonished at the numerous and formidable forces that Napoleon brought into the field, and the gigantic efforts which he made, notwithstanding his losses in the Russian campaign. An armistice, however, was concluded, and the contending powers entered into negotiations for a peace.

50. While such was the state of affairs in Germany, Spain was a theatre of important transactions. Towards the end of the preceding year, the retreat of the French forces from the southern provinces, and their concentration in Castile, had

induced lord Wellington to retire to Ciudad Rodrigo. But the disastrous issue of the Russian campaign obliged the French emperor to withdraw a considerable part of his forces from Spain, and march them into Germany, where he intended to make his grand effort. The army in Spain being thus weakened, the British again advanced from Ciudad Rodrigo; and the French retiring northward, blew up in their route the castle of Burgos. Their movements being closely followed by the allies, the retreat and pursuit continued until they reached Vittoria, where a decisive battle fought on the 21st of June 1813, entirely broke the power of Napoleon in the peninsula. The French army commanded by king Joseph, who had marshal Jourdan for his major-general, occupied a position in front of Vittoria, where they were attacked by lord Wellington, who gained one of the most complete victories recorded in the annals of war. The French lost fifteen thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners, and all their artillery consisting of a hundred and fifty pieces, besides four hundred and fifteen waggons of ammunition, &c. with all their baggage and military chest. The loss of the allies amounted to scarcely five thousand.

51. The battle of Vittoria was followed by a train of vigorous operations. The duke of Dalmatia, being appointed commander-in-chief, made extraordinary efforts in order to retrieve the affairs of the French in Spain. But he had to contend with an army greatly superior in numbers, and commanded by one of the ablest generals in the world. These circumstances, however, did not



deter him from making several bold attempts to recal victory to the standards of France. A number of desperate conflicts took place, particularly on the 25th, 27th, and 28th of July, amidst the mountains and vallies of the Pyrenees. In all these operations, the conduct of both the French and British generals was a grand display of military skill; and the loss on both sides was very considerable. The result however, was the continual advance of lord Wellington towards the frontier of but France; marshal Soult in retiring, disputed every inch of the ground. On the 1st of September, the allies carried the strong fortress of St. Sebastian by assault, although the duke of Dalmatia had made a bold and skilful effort for its relief; and soon after they made themselves masters of Pampeluna, and all the other places which the French had hitherto held on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees.

52. In the eastern part of Spain, the war was carried on with considerable activity, and frequent skirmishes took place in which victory and defeat were alternate. But although the campaign in Valencia and Catalonia presented a scene of brisk operations, no important action took place, and the duke of Albufuera maintained his ground in the eastern part of the peninsula.

53. During these transactions in Spain, the concluding act of the great military drama was commencing in Germany. The negotiations for peace were carried on for some time; and if Napoleon would have listened to reasonable terms, the Rhine might have continued to be the boundary of the

French empire; but his presumptuous ambition and obstinacy caused his ruin.

54. The time of the armistice being expired, the emperor of Austria joined the grand confederacy, as did also the king of Bavaria; and hostilities recommenced with extraordinary vigour. The emperor of the French arrived at Dresden on the 26th of August, just in time to repel an attack which the allies made on that city. And on the 27th was fought the battle of Dresden, in which the allies were defeated with a very considerable loss. In this action the celebrated general Moreau who was come from America to assist the allies in overturning Napoleon's throne, lost both his legs by a cannon shot and died within a few days. He had gained a high military reputation by his masterly retreat from the interior of Germany in the year 1796, and his able conduct in the campaign of 1800, had caused him to be regarded as one of the most distinguished of the republican generals. His death was greatly regretted by the allies, and at this critical juncture was regarded as a public loss. But these successes of the French were counterbalanced by a train of disasters. Vandamme, one of their most enterprising generals, was defeated on the frontier of Bohemia; and his whole division, consisting of eighteen thousand men, was annihilated; a great number being killed, and the rest, with their commander, made prisoners. The crown prince of Sweden also defeated several corps of the French in different actions. And on the 26th of October the Prussian general Blucher gained an important victory at Radefield:

his loss amounted to above seven thousand men; that of the French was almost double the number.

55. All these partial engagements, however, were only preludes to the great battle of Leipsic, which decided the fate of Napoleon, of France, and of Europe. This stupendous military scene opened on the 18th of October, 1813, a day equal in importance to ages, and which will for ever stand memorably distinguished in history. Here the whole strength of the belligerent powers was called into tremendous exertion: here were displayed the banners of contending nations, from the Atlantic ocean to the Caspian sea. The allies were commanded by the Austrian general prince Schwartzenberg, the crown prince of Sweden, general Blucher, &c. under the direction of the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia. Napoleon, with his ablest generals, commanded the grand army of France. In the heat of the action, a body of Saxon artillery, with two battalions of their infantry, and two Westphalian regiments, went over to the allies, and were instantly led by the crown prince against the French. After a dreadful conflict, victory declared for the allies, and the French retired with the loss of forty thousand men killed, wounded and prisoners; and between sixty and seventy pieces of cannon. The next morning Leipsic was carried by assault; and the emperor Alexander, the king of Prussia, and the crown prince of Sweden, at the head of their respective troops, entering the town at opposite points, met in the great square. Napoleon, with the marshals Marmont, Macdonald, Augereau and



Victor, narrowly escaped. The king of Saxony with his court, and the rear of the French army were taken, besides all their wounded, above thirty thousand in number. The whole loss of the French in these actions near Leipsic, and in the capture of the town amounted to more than sixty thousand men, amongst whom were several generals, and a hundred pieces of artillery, exclusive of the desertion of the Saxon troops and those of Westphalia.

56. Napoleon, with the shattered remains of his army, made a precipitate retreat into France. The allies lost no time in commencing the pursuit, and made rapid advances. On the 20th of December the grand army, under prince Schwartzenberg, passed the Rhine at Basle. Marshal Blucher and the other generals, with their armies, passed that river at different points, and entered the French territory.

57. The year 1814 is rendered memorable by the decision of the grand contest which had so long and so terribly agitated this quarter of the globe. The armies of Russia, Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, &c. having entered France, Holland, as well as Switzerland, cast off the yoke by which they had been long oppressed; and the stadtholder being invited by the unanimous voice of the people, returned to take possession of his paternal inheritance. Denmark and Naples acceded to the grand alliance. Thus all the nations of Europe were united against France; and while the combined forces of the north and the east entered her territories from Belgium and Germany, the Spa-

niards, Portuguese, and English, were making a formidable invasion from the south.

58. Napoleon seeing France invaded on every side, collected the scattered fragments of his wrecked armies, and in the latter part of January, 1814, departed from Paris. Arriving at Chalons on the 26th, he commenced his operations, and at first gained some advantages, which inspired him with the flattering hope of recalling victory to his standard. But the event proved contrary to his expectation. His veteran armies were almost annihilated, the warlike population of France was greatly exhausted, and the conscription, which was necessarily annulled in those parts of the country that were in the power of the allies, was every where carried slowly and unwillingly into effect. His forces, therefore, in this concluding part of the contest were greatly inferior to those of the enemies with whom he had to contend.

59. On the 1st of February, marshal Blucher defeated near Brienne the army commanded by the French emperor in person, who, in leading on the guards, had his horse killed under him. In this action the Prussians took thirty-six pieces of artillery, and four thousand prisoners. On the 7th of the same month the Austrians obtained possession of Troyes; but on the 10th a Russian division was defeated by the French at Campobert; and on the following day the Prussian corps of baron Sacken and general Yorck sustained, not without great loss, a desperate attack made by Napoleon in person, at the head of thirty thousand men. On the 13th the Prussian general Blucher drove marshal

Marmont from his position at Etoges; but on the following day he was himself attacked by Napoleon, who had made a forced march to Chateau Thierry. The attacks of the French were directed in a masterly manner; but they were sustained with great resolution and military skill. Marshal Blucher, having formed his columns into squares, retired in excellent order; and for the space of almost twelve miles, the action was a continual retreating combat. All the squares, assailed on every side, moved forward in compact order, repelling all the attacks of the French, whose force, especially in cavalry was considerably superior. The Prussians lost three thousand five hundred men, and seven pieces of cannon; but their general gained great honour by this well conducted retreat.

60. The variety of success which attended the operations of the campaign prevented for some time the decision of the contest; and negotiations for peace were commenced at Chatillon, but soon after broke off. Several actions took place between the Marne and the Seine, but without being productive of any important effects.

61. The campaign was, indeed, a scene of incessant action. On the 9th of March, marshal Blucher having concentrated his army in the city of Laon and the plain below, was attacked in that position by Napoleon, who brought forward his troops in well formed columns. The action continued during the whole of the following day, and ended in the defeat of the French emperor, who having lost five thousand prisoners, and forty-five pieces of artillery, retreated towards Soissons. On



the 13th, the second day after his defeat at Laon, he made himself master of Rheims, from which the Russian general, St. Priest, was obliged to retire with considerable loss. But on the 19th that city was re-occupied by the allies. The French were about the same time defeated by the Austrians at Arcis, and driven from that position.

62. The French nation, which had during so many years carried invasion, depredation, and carnage into almost all the countries of Europe, now saw its territory invaded from every quarter. About the beginning of the year, the combined British, Spanish, and Portuguese armies, consisting of above a hundred and ten thousand men, in the most perfect state of military discipline, and commanded by generals of consummate abilities, entered France from the Pyrenees. Soult, duke of Dalmatia, had scarcely fifty thousand to oppose to this formidable invasion. But although he had to contend with so great a superiority of force, conducted by the transcendant genius of Wellington, he displayed all the talents of an able commander, and disputed in France every inch of his ground with the same bravery and skill that he had exerted in Spain. His efforts, however, were ineffectual. On the 27th of February a bloody and obstinate action took place: the French were driven from all their possessions on the Adour; and the combined armies passed that river both above and below Bayonne. Of these operations the results were important. Bayonne was completely invested: the large and opulent city of Bourdeaux declared for Louis XVIII. and the appearances

of an insurrection against Napoleon became general in the southern parts of France. At Tarbes, marshal Soult again attempted to make a stand on the 20th of March, but being driven successively from all his positions, he retired to Toulouse.— About the same time marshal Suchet evacuated the eastern part of Spain; and the power of the French emperor beyond the Pyrenees being now completely extinct, his Catholic majesty, Ferdinand VII. was liberated, and permitted to return to his kingdom.

63. Events of extraordinary importance were now about to take place. After an incessant series of well-fought actions and skilful manœuvres on both sides, Napoleon adopted the bold, but fatal measure of throwing himself into the rear of the allies, in order to cut off their communication with Germany. This manœuvre might, by inclosing the combined armies between his cannon and that of the capital, have placed them in a difficult predicament, if the Parisians had resolved to make a desperate defence, as he seems to have expected. But here he had formed his calculations on erroneous suppositions. While victory was a constant attendant on his arms, and conquest accompanied all his steps, he had appeared to be the national idol; but now his circumstances were changed, and his influence at Paris was sunk far below its former standard. In a word, Napoleon, every where beaten, and unable to resist the invaders of France, was no longer the Napoleon who returned victorious from Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and Wagram; and the Parisians were unwilling to risk

the destruction of their city in the support of his fallen fortune.

64. No sooner had the French emperor thrown himself into the rear of the allies, than the Austrian generalissimo, prince Schwartzenberg, having formed a junction with marshal Blucher, passed the Marne on the 28th and 29th of March, and immediately advanced with the whole of the combined forces, amounting to two hundred thousand men, against Paris. The French army in the vicinity of the capital, commanded by Joseph Buonaparte, with the marshals Marmont and Mortier, had taken a strong position, having its right on the heights of Belleville, and its left on Montmartre, with several redoubts in the centre, and a hundred and fifty pieces of artillery on the line. On the 30th of March, the allies attacked this formidable position, and after a sanguinary conflict they were completely victorious; but not without great loss on both sides. The emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia were present during the action; and prince Schwartzenberg and the other generals merited immortal renown by their skilful arrangements and well directed attacks. This decisive battle will be for ever memorable from its important results. Paris immediately capitulated; and the emperor Alexander, with his Prussian majesty, entered the city amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, who hailed them as their deliverers from the tyranny of Napoleon. Never, indeed, did any conquerors make so glorious a use of victory. The emperor of Russia, instead of avenging on Paris the calamities of Moscow, declared



himself the friend of the French, and the protector of their capital.

65. From that important day, the combined armies of Europe became the peaceable garrison of Paris. A provisional government was formed; and a respectable party in the capital, who since the entrance of the allies into France had projected the dethronement of the emperor, and the restoration of the Bourbons, soon saw their hopes realized. The senate decreed the deposition of Napoleon; and the great disturber of Europe was obliged to sign a formal abdication of the thrones of France and Italy. Lewis XVIII. was invited to take possession of the throne of his ancestors, a constitution was framed for his acceptance; and having passed in a triumphant manner through London, and taken leave of the prince regent of Great Britain, his most Christian majesty, after an expatriation of almost twenty-five years, made, on the 3d of May 1814, his entry into Paris, amidst the plaudits and benedictions of the people. All the French generals and constituted authorities sent in their notices of adhesion to the act of the provisional government, which confirmed all ranks, titles, &c. Napoleon retired to the island of Elba, of which the allied powers ceded to him the sovereignty, with a yearly pension of two millions of livres, or about eighty thousand three hundred pounds sterling. The empress Maria Louisa was constituted archduchess of Guastalla, and her infant son, Francis Napoleon, duke of Parma and Placentia. All the branches of the Bonapartean family also obtained an ample provision by annual pensions.

66. An unfortunate affair took place at this time, in the south of France. Lord Wellington had closely followed the movements of marshal Soult; and in consequence of the couriers sent off from Paris being detained on the road in a manner not satisfactorily explained to the public, the revolution which had taken place was not known at Toulouse until the news was too late to prevent a bloody battle, that was fought on the 10th of April under the walls of that city. In this lamentable affair the allies gained the victory, but lost near five thousand men. The duke of Dalmatia retired with his army into Toulouse; but in the night of the 11th he abandoned the city, which lord Wellington entered the next day, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, who unanimously declared for Lewis XVIII. and on the same day was received, intelligence of the revolution at Paris. Had the news arrived three days sooner, what a number of lives would have been spared!

67. Every thing now breathed a spirit of reconciliation; and on the 30th of May, treaties of peace were signed at Paris between France and the confederated powers of Europe. By these treaties the same limits were assigned to France that bounded her territory in the year 1792, before the commencement of the revolutionary war: she also recovered all her settlements, except the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, which were ceded to Great Britain; but the French were not permitted to have any forts, or keep on foot any soldiers in their factories in the East Indies, except those that were requisite for maintaining the police.

68. As to the other nations, Belgium and Holland were united, and the whole was erected into a kingdom, denominated the kingdom of the Netherlands, under the sovereignty of the illustrious house of Orange, to which Great Britain restored all the Dutch colonies, except the Cape of Good Hope and the island of Ceylon. The emperor of Austria recovered all his Italian dominions, with the city and territories of Venice. The pope and the king of Sardinia were restored to their dominions. Joachim Murat was confirmed in the sovereignty of Naples. Spain and Portugal were preserved in their integrity. Part of Saxony was annexed to Prussia. Russia obtained indemnifications on the Polish frontier. Norway was taken from Denmark and annexed to Sweden. And a variety of minor arrangements were settled at a general congress afterwards held at Vienna.

69. The political aspect of France and of Europe now seemed to promise a lasting tranquillity. In this, however; as in many other cases, appearances proved fallacious. The conduct of the allies in leaving Napoleon a sceptre to play withal, might perhaps by some have been deemed more generous than politic; yet had he even been out of the question, France presented an assemblage of elements sufficiently jarring to have produced, sooner or later, a tremendous explosion. The favours shown by the king to the noblesse and the clergy, alarmed the enemies of religion and the proprietors of the confiscated estates of the emigrants, as well as of the lands which formerly belonged to the church. This class, which included all the old partizans of democratic principles, assuming the name of con-



stitutionalists, from their zeal for the constitutional charter, and afterwards of liberalists, from their affected superiority to ancient prejudices, constituted a formidable opposition to the court. To these were united several other classes of discontented persons, varying through all the shades of disaffection, arising from causes too numerous for investigation or detail. The constitutionalists however in general, although desirous of restricting the power of the crown, and opposing the influence of the noblesse and the clergy; never intended to restore the ex-emperor, of whose reign they had long been weary, and whose despotism they dreaded more than that of the Bourbons. But the most terrible engine of mischief was the army, which, like the Prætorians of ancient Rome, the Janissaries of Constantinople, the soldiery of England in the time of the commonwealth, and the Strelitzes of Moscow previous to the reign of Peter the Great, had, during the military sway of Napoleon, become in France a distinct body, claiming exclusive rights and privileges, and enjoying a separate and independent political existence. The emperor had always regarded his army as an evoked fiend, pressing for employment, and ready to tear in pieces the wizard whom he serves, unless kept perpetually in action; and his constant care was to supply with food its appetite for rapine. The soldiery, therefore, and particularly the "ci-devant" imperial guards, were highly dissatisfied at the pacific system now established under the auspices of the Bourbons, and sighed for the restoration of a chief-tain, who had led them so often to victory, conquest, and pillage.

70. In this state of things, a conspiracy was formed at Paris for restoring the dethroned emperor; and the affair being communicated to the discontented officers, the whole mass of the soldiery embraced the proposal with rapture. The king of Naples, Joachim Murat, flattered with the hopes of obtaining the sovereignty of all Italy, entered, unfortunately for himself, into the views of the conspirators, and resolved on the hazardous enterprise which they recommended. Napoleon, being now assured of the support of the French army, and the alliance of Naples, resolved to risk the desperate experiment, of which the result could only be a bloody war, admitting of no termination, but either in his triumph over united Europe, or in his total ruin.

71. Such were the circumstances in which the ex-emperor commenced his perilous undertaking. On the 1st of March 1815, he landed in France, with about eleven hundred adventurers from Elba. Not the least opposition was made to his progress: the royalists were surprised, confounded, and paralysed: the mass of the army, to a man, declared in his favour; and the marshals and superior officers, even those whose hearts perhaps had been hitherto loyal to the king, with a few distinguished exceptions, deemed it expedient to swim with the stream which they could not resist. Lewis XVIII. with his principal adherents, and all the members of the royal family, retired into Belgium; while Napoleon, escorted by the army, entered Paris, where he was again proclaimed emperor of the French, amidst the acclamations of the populace. The liberalists

detached from the family of Bourbon by a variety of opinions and incidents, had no other alternative than to rally around his standard; and thus all France, at least in appearance, was again united under his sceptre.

72. Napoleon, in order to confirm his precarious authority, had amused the French with reports that England had connived at his return from Elba, and that Austria had adopted the resolution of supporting his throne. But if he deceived others he himself saw all the dangers of his situation, and made vast preparations for the desperate contest in which he was about to engage. The army of France, after so many bloody defeats, and so great a loss of horses and cannon in the retreats of 1812 and 1813, from Moscow and Leipsic, as well as on several other occasions, had by the care of Lewis XVIII. been put on a respectable footing; and Napoleon not only augmented its numbers, but perfected its state of equipment. He caused a great number of cannon to be cast; and the army, consisting of about a hundred and fifty thousand men, had nearly three hundred pieces of artillery. The quality of the troops was in the highest degree of military perfection. The cavalry amounted to above twenty thousand in number; of whom the lancers were distinguished by their dexterous activity as well as their ferocity; and the cuirassiers by the excellence of their equipment, the tried bravery of the men, and the superior power of their horses. The elite of the infantry consisted of the imperial guards, amounting to at least twenty thousand, whose valour had ren-



dered them victorious in many a bloody field, and whose attachment to Napoleon rose to enthusiasm. This army, however, appeared trifling in numbers when compared with the tremendous force which France had of late years brought into the field. But the power of the emperor appears to have greatly declined; and all the efforts which he made for calling forth the national force; were wholly unavailing. Several of the departments would send him no conscripts; and in many of them, neither his intreaties nor his threats, could put in motion a single battallion of the national guards; circumstances which clearly show, that although he was idolized by those who were soldiers by profession; and trained to blood, he was not supported by the zeal of the nation.

73. The king of Naples, in the mean while, began his expedition against the north of Italy. But Austria at the first alarm, exerted herself with an activity unprecedented in her annals. Her troops were hurried forward to meet the Neapolitans; and soon displayed their martial superiority. The campaign was ended almost as soon as begun; and Joachim Murat, instead of obtaining the empire of Italy, lost his kingdom of Naples; to which Ferdinand IV. was by this sudden change of fortune restored.

Napoleon, however, neither lost courage, nor slackened his preparations on account of the disaster of Murat, whose operations, if successful, would have been a powerful diversion in his favour, by drawing the whole force of the Austrians towards Italy. But he had now to play a desperate

game. A formidable force of English, Hanoverians, &c. was assembled in Belgium, under the renowned Wellington, who had now obtained the title of duke, in reward of his eminent services to Great Britain, to Spain, and to Europe. The grand army of Prussia was also cantoned in the same country, while the formidable forces of Austria and Russia were ready to march towards the Rhine, and retrace their former footsteps to Paris.

74. It was generally expected that Napoleon would confine himself to a defensive war; but his temper, ardent and impetuous, always aiming rather at attack than defence, contributed, with the circumstances in which he was placed, to dictate a more daring plan of operations. His power was not sufficiently established, to insure him the national support in a protracted war; and he needed now, more than ever, the dazzling blaze of decisive victory, to renew the charm once attached to his name and fortunes. The forces now moving towards France greatly exceeded in numbers those which that country could levy to oppose them, and it was impossible to protect the whole length of her frontier. He therefore resolved to make a sudden irruption into Belgium, and by a rapid movement, to direct his whole force against the English and Prussians, hoping that by so vigorous a measure, he might defeat his enemies in detail; and that one splendid victory would so completely restore his influence in France, as to enable him to carry the conscription into full effect, or even to accomplish a levy "en masse," and thus present a formidable front to the combined

powers of Europe. He had already assumed an imposing attitude, having fixed his head-quarters at Laon, while his army occupied Valenciennes and Maubeuge, resting its left upon Lisle, and communicating by its right with the corps assembled on the Moselle; but his future operations were not anticipated by the allies.

75. You will not, my dear Sir, expect that I should attempt, in this compendium of historic information, to give you a circumstantial account of the battles of Quatre Bras, Ligny, and Waterloo, nor of the various movements which ushered in those tremendous scenes. As all these things have been detailed at great length by different writers, I shall here only present to your view the rough sketch of a magnificent picture. The marches and combinations of the different corps of the French army displayed in a conspicuous manner that high military talent by which the plans of Napoleon's most fortunate campaigns had been so eminently distinguished. On the same day, and almost at the same hour, the army from Laon, with the emperor himself at its head, that of the Ardennes, commanded by general Vandamme, and that of the Moselle, under general Girard, having broken up from their cantonments, attained by a simultaneous movement, an united alligement on the frontier of Belgium.

76. On the 13th of June 1815, Napoleon issued an address to his army. He reminded the troops of the victories of Marengo, of Austerlitz, of Jena, of Friedland, and Wagram; and after setting before their eyes a pompous display of their



former achievements, and of the glory which they were now to expect; he concluded by observing, that the moment was come for every brave Frenchman to conquer or die.

77. On the following morning, 15th of June, the French emperor having put his army in motion, suddenly burst into Belgium, and the game of blood immediately began. The out-posts of the Prussians were driven in; and the garrison of Charleroi being obliged to abandon the place, retired upon Fleurus where marshal Blucher was concentrating his army. On the 16th, at three in the morning, Napoleon began to develop the daring plan which he had formed, of attacking on the same day both the English and Prussians under two such commanders as Wellington and Blucher. Marshal Ney, prince of Moskwa, with the left wing of the French army, above thirty thousand men, was ordered to march upon Brussels by Gosselies and Frasnes, and overpower the opposition that might be made by the Belgians, or by the British who should advance to their support, while the emperor himself, with the centre and right, having the imperial guards as a "corps de reserve," marched towards Fleurus to attack the Prussians.

78. As soon as the news of Napoleon's irruption reached Brussels in the evening of the 15th, the prince of Orange, with the Belgians, flew to the support of his advanced posts; and the duke of Wellington put his troops in motion as fast as they could be collected from their cantonments. By these means a force was opposed to marshal

Ney, which on the 16th effectually arrested his progress. A desperate conflict took place near a farm-house or hamlet, called "Quatre Bras," from its being the point where the highway from Charleroi to Brussels is intersected by another road at nearly right angles. In this severe action the duke of Brunswick was killed, and the loss was great on both sides. The duke of Wellington however, kept the field; and marshal Ney fell back upon Frasnes.

79. In the mean while the French emperor attacked the grand army of Prussia, consisting of eighty thousand men under the command of the prince marshal Blucher, who had posted his right at the village of St. Amand, his centre at Ligny, and his left at Sombref. The battle commenced about three in the afternoon; and was distinguished by a character of ferocity seldom observed in modern wars. After a series of desperate attacks and bloody repulses, the Prussians retired with the loss of fifteen pieces of cannon, and above fifteen thousand men, most of whom were left dead on the field, very few prisoners being taken. They retreated, however, in regular order, their infantry forming compact masses impenetrable to the cavalry of the pursuers. Being joined at length by the corps of general Bulow, which marching from different cantonments through difficult roads had not been able to reach the scene of action; the Prussian army was once more concentrated in the vicinity of Wavre, about ten miles behind Ligny.

80. On the morning of the 17th, the duke of Wellington received intelligence of the defeat of

the Prussians on the preceding day. This circumstance dictated the necessity of a retreat instead of following up his advantages at "Quatre Bras," by attacking marshal Ney at Frasnes. He therefore resolved to fall back towards Brussels to such a corresponding position as might maintain his lateral communication with the Prussian army. The French emperor now directed his whole force against the English, only leaving Grouchy and Vandamme, with about twenty-six thousand men to hang upon the rear of Marshal Blucher, in order to occupy his attention, and prevent him from attempting to aid the duke of Wellington in the expected action.

81. The movement of the French army from Ligny to Quatre Bras had occupied a space of time which the British general had not left unemployed. Napoleon found the position abandoned, and immediately put his troops in motion to pursue his retiring enemy. But the day being extremely tempestuous and rainy, the state of the weather and of the roads concurred with the necessary disorganization of the French cavalry, after two such severe actions as those of Quatre Bras and Ligny, to enable the duke of Wellington to effect his retreat almost undisturbed by the pursuers.

82. The British general took a position about a mile in front of the village of Waterloo, where he fixed his head-quarters for the night. The French whose forces were gradually coming up during the evening, occupied a ridge of high ground nearly in front of the English army. And Napoleon established his head-quarters at Planchenoit, a small



village a little in the rear. Thus arranged, the two armies and their commanders waited the arrival of morning and the events which it was to usher in. The night was excessively stormy: the furious gusts of wind, the heavy falls of rain, the vivid and incessant flashes of lightning, and the loudest thunder ever heard in those climates, concurred in forming a tempest violent in the extreme; and to which both armies, who were about equal in numbers, were exposed in the situation of an open bivouack, without shelter, and destitute of the means of enjoying repose and refreshment.

83. At length the morning arrived, the memorable 18th of June, when Napoleon was to begin his last deadly struggle. The British army was posted on the heights of Mount St. John, in front of Waterloo, maintaining by its left, through the passes of St. Lambert, a communication with the Prussians at Wavre. The French occupied the opposite ridge of "La belle Alliance," at the distance of from half to three quarters of a mile from the British line. The intervening valley, about two miles in length, was the grand scene of action; and the chateau of Goumont or Hougoumont, situated between the two armies, was an object of desperate and deadly contest.

84. The battle of Waterloo, in which the numbers on each side were nearly equal, was entirely a scene of hard fighting with very little manœuvring. The duke of Wellington's army was formed into squares, impenetrable to the efforts of the French cavalry. But many of these squares suffered so

severely from incessant attacks that they gradually began to present a diminished and less formidable appearance. In the mean while marshal Blucher, leaving a strong rear guard to contend with the French general Grouchy, and occupy his attention, put his main body in motion and began his march through the defiles of St. Lambert to join the British commander and partake in the action. The division of general Bulow was the first Prussian corps that arrived at the field of battle, between three and four in the afternoon. But the French emperor had foreseen and provided against this attack by keeping in reserve a large body of troops whom he opposed to the Prussians with a promptitude that appeared like magic. The prince marshal was now pressing the march of his army through the defiles of St. Lambert, but the state of the cross roads was such, that the sun was rapidly declining towards the horizon before he could reach the ensanguined field. On the appearance of the Prussians, Napoleon supposed that Grouchy was either following close in their rear, or moving laterally in the same line, and consequently as ready to support as they were to attack him; and this fatal error induced him to neglect his last chance of effecting a retreat.

85. The French had during the whole day continued their attacks with unceasing perseverance, and sustained with unshaken intrepidity, the most bloody repulses. But although an almost incredible number both of their cavalry and infantry had fallen in the struggle, this horrible carnage did not prevent the emperor from risking a final and des-

perate effort. He had kept in reserve the imperial guards, about fifteen thousand in number; and these he devoted as his last stake to the chance of the desperate game. About seven in the evening placing himself in the highway fronting Mount St. John, and within about four hundred yards of the British line, he caused this distinguished infantry to defile before him, and pointing to the highway, exclaimed, "There, gentlemen, is the road to Brussels." The reiterated shouts of "Vive l'empereur," with which the guards answered this appeal to their courage, seemed to rend the air, and induced the duke of Wellington, as well as his army, to expect an instant attack led on by the French emperor in person. Had Napoleon at this final crisis put himself at the head of the troops whom he destined to try the last cast of his fortune, if he had not succeeded, he might at least have fallen in a manner corresponding with his high military reputation.

86. The attack made by the imperial guards, led on by marshal Ney, was bold and impetuous beyond all description, and continued for some time with a dauntless perseverance that seemed to bid defiance to all opposition, although their columns were almost annihilated, as fast as they advanced, by the British artillery. At length the assailants began to retire: the advance of the Prussians on their right flank, and the consciousness of no reserve or support remaining, added confusion to their retreat. The British now resumed the offensive. The French were thrown into irretrievable disorder; and their emperor saved himself by a



precipitate flight. The British cavalry being completely exhausted by the exertions of this bloody day, the pursuit was committed to the Prussians, who made a most dreadful havoc of the fugitives. If we compare the most authentic accounts of the state of the French army before and after this transaction, it will appear that the battle of Waterloo must, including those who fell in the pursuit, have cost them more than forty thousand men. The duke of Wellington lost between eighteen and nineteen thousand; but his victory procured him a glory superior to that of all other military commanders of ancient or modern times; and his name will be distinguished in history as that of the general who conquered the conqueror of the world.

87. This short but decisive campaign was not less important in its results than tremendous in its operations. Napoleon having effected his escape from the bloody field, was on his arrival at Paris a second time deposed by the councils. After wandering some time in the interior of France, the dread of being delivered to his continental enemies, induced him to throw himself into the hands of the British government, who fixed his residence in the island of St. Helena, where the everlasting barrier of an immense ocean prevents him from disturbing any more the peace of the world.

88. Thus terminated the political and military career of Napoleon Bonaparte—a career distinguished by the most important events that ever marked the life of any individual. None of fortune's favourites ever attained to a higher degree of elevation, and none afterwards sunk into a lower

state of depression. In forming an estimate of this extraordinary man, we must not be guided by the representations either of his friends or his enemies, but by an impartial observation of his circumstances and actions. It is sufficiently evident, that an ambition unrestrained by any scruples of conscience was the predominant trait in his character; but this is common to all those idols of fame whom history holds up, under the imposing titles of heroes and conquerors, to the admiration of mankind. His military skill was conspicuous to all Europe; and his talent for combining the operations of numerous armies, either in a single action or in a whole campaign, was certainly never surpassed. But the various errors into which he fell towards the end of his reign have ruined his reputation as a politician. His seizure of Spain was not less impolitic than unjust, as it converted an obsequious ally into an implacable enemy, and involved him in a war which cost him near half a million of his best troops—a force which, if preserved, must have rendered him invincible. Besides, if he had succeeded in his design of subduing the Peninsula, he could not have had any reasonable expectation of preserving either Spanish or Portuguese America. But his expedition into Russia was the worst planned, as well as the most disastrous, of all his enterprises. When the season was so far advanced, he ought certainly to have remained on the frontier of that empire during the winter, and to have established the Polish kingdom or republic, where he might undoubtedly have organized an army of a hundred thousand

men, strongly attached to his interests. He would thus have had a powerful ally, and a friendly country in his rear to supply his army with provisions during the winter, and might have entered Russia early in the spring. In that case, if we may form a conjecture from the events which actually took place within the space of three months, it seems not improbable that he might have been master of Moscow at the same season of the year in which he passed the frontier. But, by his precipitation in proceeding into the heart of the country at so advanced a season, he left himself no time either to negotiate or retreat. It would seem that he had wholly overlooked the nature of the climate, or thought that the elements themselves would be ruled by his will, and suspend their operations in his favour. The Russian expedition was the crisis that decided his fortune. By prudence, however, his loss, terrible as it was, might have been in a great measure retrieved, and his fall have been prevented. If his presumption and obstinacy had not opposed the conclusion of a peace during the armistice of Dresden, the Rhine might still have remained the boundary of the French empire; while the liberation of above a hundred and fifty thousand of his troops, that were prisoners in Russia, would have re-established his military power. And if he could have brought his mind to submit to the pressure of his circumstances, the negotiations at Chatillon afforded him a last chance of retaining the imperial crown of France. Even in Elba, he might have been happy, had not his restless ambition precipitated him into the



abyss of irretrievable ruin. It indeed appears evident, that if Napoleon had gained the victory of Waterloo, it must have been with so great a loss of men as would have left him wholly unable to resist the forces of all the combined powers, which were preparing to pour themselves into France. In reflecting on the numerous errors of the French emperor towards the end of his reign, he seems to have laid under that kind of judicial infatuation which falls upon nations and individuals when providence has decreed their fall, and of which history furnishes so many examples.

89. Immediately after the total defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, the combined British and Prussian armies advanced to Paris: on the 3d of July the articles of capitulation were arranged and signed; and his most Christian majesty returned to the seat of his government. In order to secure the tranquillity of the kingdom, it was by treaty agreed that Valenciennes, Conde, Maubeuge, Landrecy, Quesnoi, Cambray, Givet, Charlemont, Mezieres, Sedan, Thionville, Longwy, Montmedy, Rocroi, Avesnes; and the bridge head of Fort Louis should be garrisoned by the allies for five years: that during the same space of time the combined powers should leave a force of a hundred and fifty thousand men upon the frontier, to be maintained by France; of these Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, and Russia were each to furnish thirty thousand, Bavaria ten thousand; Hanover, Wirtemberg, Saxony, and Denmark were to supply in the equal proportion of five thousand each, the remainder. And France agreed to pay

to the allies seven hundred millions of livres (about thirty millions sterling) as an indemnification. Thus the once brilliant sun of Napoleon set, never more to rise: Lewis XVIII. was established on the throne of his ancestors: peace was restored to France and to Europe; and every provision was made for its permanency.

90. In reviewing the repeated irruptions of the combined armies into France, you will, my dear Sir, very easily discover the different effects of conciliatory and repulsive measures. The violent manifesto of the duke of Brunswick, threatening France with subjugation, and its capital with destruction, united all parties in one common cause, and produced a resistance, which not only prevented the Austrians and Prussians from penetrating to Paris, but soon compelled them to evacuate the country. The coalesced sovereigns, on the contrary, disclaimed all enmity against the French nation, and declared that their contest was solely with the emperor. Their conduct corresponded with their professions, and the lenity which marked their progress disarmed a hostile people. The consequence was, that they met with no opposition, except from Napoleon and his armies, in twice advancing to Paris. Thus the procedure of the confederate powers, in the grand contest with the French emperor, was diametrically opposite to that which was adopted at the commencement of the revolutionary war; and the result was not less different.

I shall now, my dear Sir, conclude with directing your mind to a very important consideration.

The ways of that Being, who governs the world, are inscrutable, and all his dispensations, how productive soever of temporary evil, tend to an ultimate good. Amidst all the horrors of a revolution, which caused France to bleed at every pore, the nation had imbibed a spirit of liberty which no calamity or danger, no tyranny of ephemeral rulers, could ever extinguish. The French at its commencement pursued a phantom; at its termination they obtained a reality: the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty was accompanied by the establishment of a free representative constitution, framed nearly on the model of that of Great Britain. The evils attending the ebullitions of revolutionary frenzy were severely felt more than twenty years: the good that followed when those convulsions subsided may extend its operations to twenty centuries.

With every sentiment of respect and esteem,

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours, &c.

P. S. In concluding this sketch of French history, it will not be amiss to mention the final catastrophe of Joachim Murat, king of Naples, brother-in-law to Napoleon, and one of the principal actors in the terrific drama, which had so long involved all Europe in its bloody scenes. After his expulsion from Naples, he retired into Corsica; and having wandered about for some time, and collected a small band of desperate adventurers, he made a daring attempt to recover his kingdom, in the expectation of being replaced on the throne



by the unanimous exertions of the people. But, like Napoleon, he appears to have formed too high an estimate of popular favour, which so readily forsakes its idols, and of which all the demonstrations are so often fallacious. Having landed with his small band on the Neapolitan coast, instead of meeting with friends as he expected, he found himself surrounded by enemies; and being made prisoner was immediately shot, after a summary trial before a military tribunal. Thus terminated the bustling and bloody career of Joachim Murat, who from the low station of a hussar had been raised to a throne, which he lost by his restless ambition, and then fell a victim in a rash attempt for its recovery. The closing scene of his life bore a striking resemblance to the catastrophe of the duc d'Enghien, at whose trial he acted as president—a circumstance, which would probably occur to his mind in his last moments.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

- 1.—When did Spain declare war against England?
- 2.—When was the battle of Trafalgar?
- 3.—Where was lord Nelson killed?
- 4.—In what year was the grand confederacy formed?  
What number of troops did the continental powers engage to bring into the field?
- 5.—What was the disposable force of France?
6. \_\_\_\_\_
7. \_\_\_\_\_
- 8.—When was the battle of Austerlitz fought?  
Who gained the victory?
- 9.—In what year did Joseph Bonaparte take possession of Naples?

- 10.—In what year did Francis II. take the title of emperor of Austria? *1550*
- 11.—
- 12.—When was the battle of Jena? *1806*  
Who gained the victory? *French*
- 13.—
- 14.—When was fought the battle of Pultusk? *1757*
- 15.—When was the battle of Eylau? *1807*
- 16.—
- 17.—When was the battle of Friedland fought, and between what nations?  
Who gained the victory? *French*
- 18.—When was the peace of Tilsit concluded between Russia, Prussia, and France? *1807*
- 19.—In what year did the Portuguese government remove to Rio de Janeiro? *1808*
- 20.—When did Napoleon seize on Rome, &c?  
What ports were shut against British vessels?
- 21.—When did Napoleon make his brother Joseph king of Spain?  
Who was made king of Naples?
- 22.—When did general Dupont surrender to the Spaniards?  
What Spanish general, with his troops, made his escape from Denmark? *Collins*
- 23.—When was the battle of Vimiera fought?
- 24.—With what force did the French emperor endeavour to surround general Moore?
- 25.—
- 26.—Where was general sir John Moore killed?
- 27.—Who assaulted, and who defended Saragossa?
- 28.—In what year did a new war break out between France and Austria? *1805*
- 29.—When was the battle of Esling fought, and on the banks of what river?  
Who commanded the two contending armies?
- 30.—When was the battle of Wagram fought? *1809*
- 31.—When was the battle of Talavera fought?
- 32.—In what year was the Walcheren expedition?
- 33.—In what year did the French become masters of the south of Spain?

34.—When did Napoleon marry Maria Louisa of Austria?

35.—When did the English defeat the French at Barrosa?

36.—When did general Massena retreat from Portugal?

37.—When was the battle of Albuera?

38.—What French general took Valencia? together with general Blake and his troops?

39.—When was the battle of Salamanca?

Who commanded the French and allied armies?

40.—Who was constituted generalissimo of the Spanish armies?

41.—In what state were the French marine and colonies?

42.—What was the grand object of the French emperor?

43.—By what event was the year 1812 distinguished?

44.—With what force did Napoleon enter Russia?

45.—On what day, &c. did he enter Moscow?

46. \_\_\_\_\_

47.—On what day did he retreat from Moscow?

48.—Who was the crown prince of Sweden?

49. \_\_\_\_\_

50.—Who commanded the French and allied armies at the battle of Vittoria?

51.—Who took the command of the French armies after the battle of Vittoria?

52. \_\_\_\_\_

53. \_\_\_\_\_

54.—When, and where was general Moreau killed?

55.—When was the great battle of Leipsic?

Who commanded on each side?

56.—When did the allied armies enter France?

57. \_\_\_\_\_

58. \_\_\_\_\_

59. \_\_\_\_\_

60.—Where were negotiations for peace begun?

61. \_\_\_\_\_

62.—How many troops had the duke of Wellington when he entered France?

What number had marshal Soult?

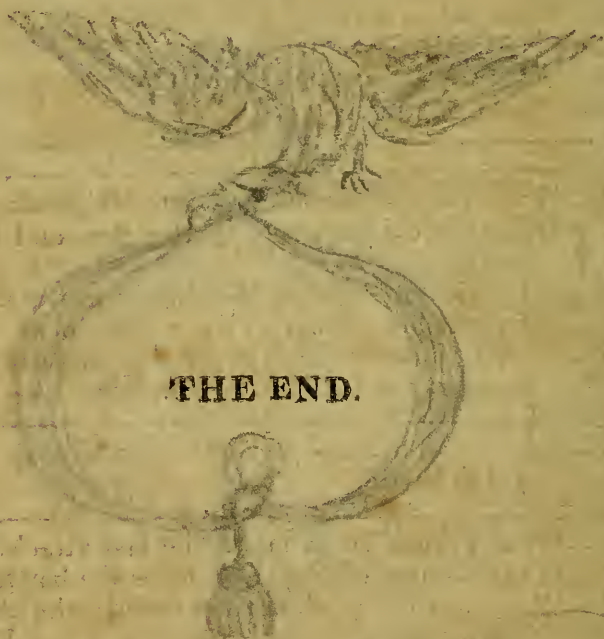
63.—What measure did Napoleon adopt?

64.—With what force did the allies march against Paris?



- 65.—On what day did Lewis XVIII. enter Paris? *3d*
- 66.—What was the cause of the battle of Toulouse?
- 67.—When was the general peace concluded?  
What were the limits assigned to France?
- 68.—What new kingdom was formed at the peace?
- 69.—To what troops might the French army be compared?
- 70.—What views had Murat in joining with Napoleon?
- 71.—When did Napoleon return to France?
- 72.—By what qualities, &c. were the French lancers and cuirassiers distinguished?  
What corps was the elite of the French army?
- 73.—What befel Joachim Murat?
- 74.—What were Napoleon's views in making an irruption into Belgium? *the*
- 75.—
- 76.—
- 77.—When did Napoleon burst into Belgium? *1815*
78. } When did the battles of Quatre Bras and Ligny take  
79. } place?
- 80.—Why did the duke of Wellington retreat?
- 81.—Why was his retreat so little disturbed?
- 82.—In what state did the two armies pass the night previous to the battle of Waterloo?
- 83.—
- 84.—How was the duke of Wellington's army drawn up in that battle?
- 85.—
- 86.—What French corps made the last attack?
- 87.—What became of Napoleon after the battle?
- 88.—What was the predominant trait in the character of Napoleon?  
What were the consequences of his seizing on Spain?  
What was his oversight in his Russian expedition?  
What advantages would he have gained by concluding a peace during the armistice of Dresden?  
Could the battle of Waterloo if he had gained the victory, have insured him any permanent advantage?
- 89.—What number of troops did the allies agree to leave in France? *150,000*

90.—What was the difference between the conduct adopted by the allies at the commencement of the revolutionary war, and in the contest with Napoleon? What kind of constitution did the French establish at the restoration of the Bourbons?



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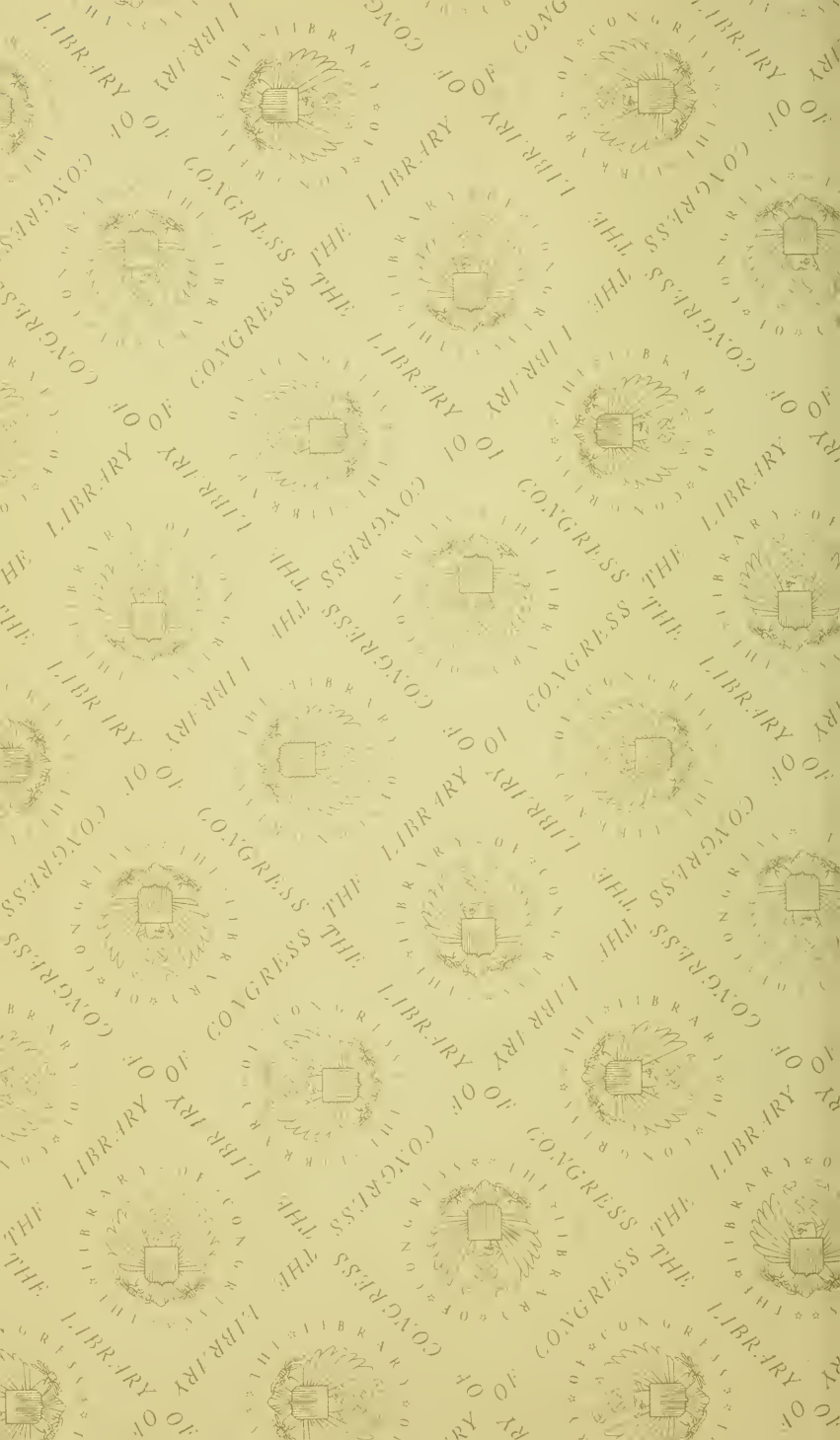
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